THE HISTORY OF THE Kings Majesties Affaires IN SCOTLAND,

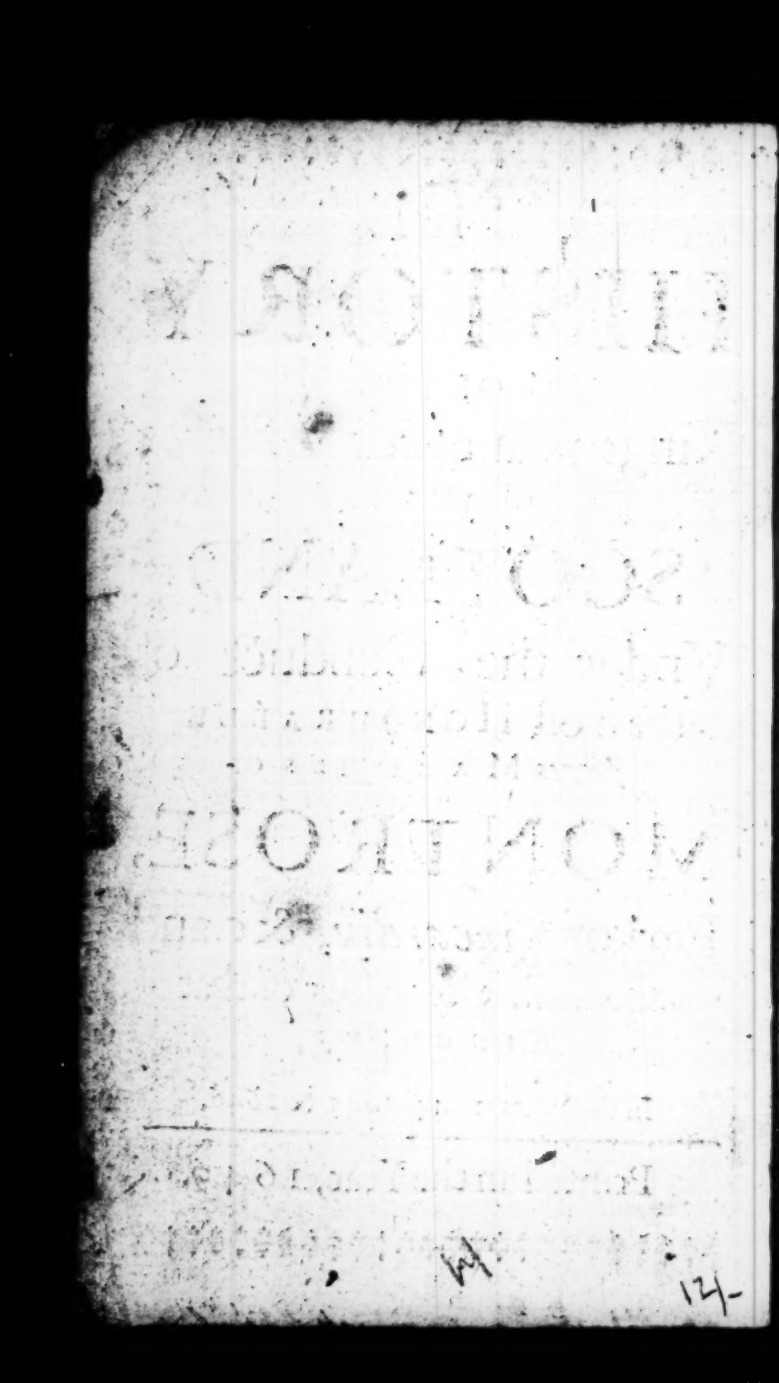
Vnder the Conduct of the most HONOURABLE *James* MARQUES of

MONTROSE,

Earl of *Kincardin*, &c. and Generall Governour of that KINGDOME,

In the Years, 1644. 1645. & 1646.

Printed in the Year, 1649.



To the Reader.

THere are a few things (courteous Reader) of which I would not have them ignorant who ſhall chance to peruſe this ſhort Hiſtory; whereof ſome concerne the Lord Marqueſſe of *Montroſe*, whoſe Actions in his Country for two years ſpace are here publiſhed; and others have relation to the Author of this worke. And firſt of all I deſire thee to take notice, that *Montroſe* is the Chiefe of that ancient and famous Family of the *Grahams*, and is called in old Scottiſh *Graham-more*, the great *Graham*. He derives his Pedegree from that famous *Graham*, in the Hiſtories of *Scotland*, who was ſon-in-law to *Fergus* the ſecond King of the *Scots*; and was the firſt (that with the aſſiſtance of his father-in-law) caſt downe that Trench which *Severus* had made and ſet out for the utmoſt limit of the Roman Empire, between the Scottiſh *Frith* and the River of *Cluid*, at ſuch a place where Great *Brittaine* was narroweſt; and by that meanes cut the power of the *Romans* ſhorter. Whence it happens, that ſome evident remains of that Trench retaine his name amongſt the Inhabitants to this day, who call it *Gremeſdike*. The ſame *Graham*, from whom this noble Family tooke its riſe, ſurviving his father-in-law *Fergus* and being a man as able for Civill as Military employment, was made Protector unto his Nephew, and Regent of the

Kingdome; and after he had fetched back the Doctors of the Christian Faith who had been banished by the late Wars and setled as well the Church as State with excellent Laws, freely resigned the Government into the hands of his Nephew when he came to age. He flourished in the time of the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, about the year of our Lord CCCC. From whom hath descended in a faire and straight line, along and noble row of Posterity, who, imitating the virtue of their Ancestours, have been famous in the succeeding generations. Amongst whom that valiant *Graham* was eminent, who with the help of *Dumbarre*, so seasonably rescued his Country from the *Danes* who were then Masters of *England*; and had frequently but with little successe invaded *Scotland* with mighty Armies. And in after times that noble *Iohn Graham* came nothing behind his Ancestors in virtue and honour, who after the death of *Alexander* the Third, in that vacation of the Kingdome while *Bruce* and *Bailiol* disputed their Titles, was (with that renowned Vice-roy *William Walley*) a stout maintainer of his Countries Liberty against the unjust oppression and tyranny of *Edward* King of *England*; and after many heroicall exploits, fighting valiantly for his Nation, dyed in the bed of Honour. His Tomb is yet to be seen in a Chappell which hath the name of *Falkirke* from the aforelaid *Gremesdike* by which it stands. Adjoyning unto which the Marquesse of *Montrose* hath large and plentifull possessions, descended by inheritance unto him from that first *Graham*.

But lest I should seeme to derive the Nobility of

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ſo illuſtrious a Worthies extraction only out of the rubbiſh of duſty and obſcure Antiquity; I muſt not omit that his Grandfather the Earle of *Montroſe* was advanced unto places of the greateſt honour in that Kingdome, and diſcharged them moſt happily. For, being Lord Chancellour of *Scotland* at ſuch time as King *Iames* the Sixth of bleſſed memory came to the Crowne of *England*, he was created by him Vice-roy of *Scotland*, and enjoyed that higheſt Honour which a Subject is capable of with the love and good affection both of King and People to the day of his death. And his Father was a man of ſingular indowments both of body and mind, and ſo knowne to be both in forraigne Countries and at home: who after he had performed many moſt honourable Embaſſages for King *Iames*, was called to be Lord Preſident of the Seſſion by King *Charles*: and being ſnatched away from his Countrey and all good men by an untimely death, was extremely lamented and miſſed. And what we may thinke or hope of the grandchild, I leave unto thee to judge by what he hath done already, ſeeing he is yet (now a yeare and a halfe after his employment in his Country) ſcarce entred upon the 36. year of his age.

One thing more I muſt add for thy ſake (good Reader:) three Periods already have beene very dangerous and almoſt fatall to the Kingdome of *Scotland*: the firſt by the oppreſſion of the *Romans*, whoſe yoke our Anceſtors caſt off by the Conduct of that firſt *Graham* deſcended of the noble *Britiſh* Family of the *Fulgentii*. The ſecond by the *Danes*, the repulſe of whom is owing eſpecially to the proweſſe of

the second *Graham* aforesaid. And the third by the *English* and *Normans*, whom the third *Graham* twice expelled out of *Scotland*, and gave them many and great defeats. So that (as it was of old spoken of the *Scipio's* in *Africk*,) it seems the name of *Graham* is something fatall to their enemies, and lucky to their Country at a dead lift; and that it was not without the speciall providence of God Almighty, that in these worst times One stood up who did his best endeavours to maintaine the Kings just Rights and Authority, the Peace, Safety, and Liberty of the Subjects, and the Honour and ancient splendor of his House. And this is all I thought good at this time to premise concerning the Lord Marqueese of *Montrose*.

And for the Author of the Booke take it briefly thus. He professeth himselfe to have been but little conversant in these sort of studies, and expecteth neither credit or commendation for the strength of his wit (which he acknowledgeth to be little or none.) nor reward or profit for his paines; which two things are the chiefest incentives to most to wet their pen; but that he undertooke the businesse meerly out of a desire to propagate the truth to other Nations and to posterity. For he saw by late and lamentable experience in such a cause as this, that prosperous Villany can find more advocates then down-cast Truth and goodnesse. For when the same confederates in both Kingdomes had by their owne arts (that is, by lying and slandering) ruined the Church, to fill their bags with its Revenues so sacrilegiously purloyned, and enrich their posterity with plentifull *Anathema's* and accursed things; there wanted no store of men that extolled

extolled them for it to the skies, as men deſerving highly from their Country, from the Church it ſelfe, and from all mankind: and reviled with all ſort of reproaches and contumelies the moſt religious ſervants of God, holy Martyrs and Confeſſors, for withſtanding them. And therefore he might well imagine, that theſe men, who by the ſame deviſes laboured to render his Majeſty himſelfe odious, and ſo to deſtroy Him, to enjoy his Honours and Revenues ſo traiterouſly and perfidiouſly purloyned; would eaſily find men who ſhould out of the like rayling humour beſpatter as much as in them lay this moſt excellent man, and all his honourable atchievement; and (as it is ſaid of waſpes) poyſon with their tongues or pens the juice of moſt ſweet and wholeſome flowers, and leave the leſſe knowing, or leſſe wary to ſuck it up. He was therefore pleaſed to offer this ſhort and faithfull Narrative, as a ſeaſonable antidote againſt that evill, to all that loved truth and plaine dealing: of which he would needs be ſo obſtinate a maintainer, that although he ſaw well enough how much envy and hatred it would derive upon himſelfe, he reſolved he would neither baſely flatter any one, nor lap up that truth which they would not like to beare in obſcure and doubtfull Expreſſions. For he profeſſes, that as he is a Free-man borne and bred, ſo he will never part with his Freedome till with his life. And although he be ambitious of no other commendable quality of good a Hiſtorian, neither of wit, nor art, nor eloquence, yet he ſeems to challenge in his own right the honour of ſincere and exact truth: for the defence and propagation whereof he hath ſet at nought all that

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was deare in this world; having been thrice plundered of all that he had, thrice impriſoned in a naſty and filthy jaile, and now the third time lives in baniſhment for the Truths ſake. Yet he is merry and chearfull, that being conſcious to himſelf of no wrong as towards men, he is counted worthy of the Lord to ſuffer theſe things for truths and righteouſneſſe ſake. And thou (good Reader) make much of him at leaſt for his truths ſake; excuſe him for other things, and farewell.

Vpon the Death of King CHARLES the Firſt.

GReat! Good! and Juſt! could I but Rate
My Griefs, and Thy too Rigid fate,
I'de weep the world to ſuch a ſtraine,
As it ſhould Deluge once againe.
But Since Thy loud-tongu'd blood demands ſupplys,
More from Briareus *Hands, then* Argus *eys,*
He ſing Thy Obſequies, with trumpet Sounds,
And write Thy Epitaph, *with* Blood *and* Wounds.

MONTROSE,
Written with the point of his Sword.

The affaires of the KING in SCOTLAND, under the Conduct of the most Honourable *James* Marqueſſe of *Montroſe*, Earle of *Kinkardin*, &c. And Generall Governour for His Majeſty in that Kingdome.

In the Years 1644, 1645, & 1646.

SOmetime *James* Marqueſſe of *Montroſe* ſided with the Covenanters in *Scotland*, and very forwardly beſtowed his unhappily happy endeavours in their behoof. They pretended to nothing then, leſſe then the preſervation of Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Lawes of the Land, and the freedome of that ancient Realme, ſo happily, ſo valiantly defended in time of yore from ſuch powerfull enemies, as the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, by the ſweat and bloud, with the lives and eſtates of their Anceſtours. And the tales they made, they never wanted fitting inſtruments to tell and ſpread among the people. It was given out, that there was nothing more in the aime of the Court

of *England*, then that that free people being reduced to a kind of Province ſhould be eternally enſlaved under the power of their old enemies. Yet all this while they engaged themſelves by their publique atteſtations, and even a ſolemne Oath, that they would never goe to worke by force and armes, not ſollicite the King any other way then by Petition, That he would be pleaſed graciouſly to accept the ſupplications of his humbleſt Subjects, and to take order that his deareſt Countrey ſhould ſuffer nothing in matter of Religion or the Liberty of the Subject.

But at laſt in the yeare 1639. *Montroſe* found out that theſe faire tales were coyn'd of purpoſe to ſteale the hearts of the ſilly and ſuperſtitious multitude, and to alienate them from the King, as an enemy to Religion and Liberty. For the Covenanters did not diſſemble to him, but ſpoke out that *Scotland* had been too long governed by Kings; nor could it ever be well with them as long as one *Stuart* (that's the ſirname of the Kings family in *Scotland*) was alive: and in the extirpation of them they were firſt to ſtrike at the head: ſo that *Montroſe* eaſily perceived the Kings Majeſty and Perſon was levelled at. Therefore vehemently deteſting ſo horrible a crime, he reſolved to deſert the Conſpiratours fide, to fruſtrate their counſells, to impoveriſh their ſtore, to weaken their ſtrength, and withall his might to preſerve His Majeſty and His Authority entire and inviolate. But becauſe betweene force and craft, the Covenanters

Covenanters had drawn in almoſt all the Kingdome to their ſide, he ſaw himſelfe alone too weak to check their power, and therefore thought not good to open himſelf too ſuddenly or raſhly. Amongſt them he had many friends, men very conſiderable, as well in regard of their numerous retinues and clients, as of their wealth and authority: theſe he had a mind to draw off from them, and bring them with him to the King; and by this means conceived he ſhould be able to gather no ſmall power, which would conduce much both to the Kings ſafety and his owne.

Meane time the Covenanters raiſe a ſtrong Army againſt the King, and in a ſolemne Convention at *Duns*, they determine to invade *England*: *Montroſe* was abſent then. Which reſolution of theirs, the chief of the Covenanters had taken up in their cabinet counſels more then ſix weeks before; and to that purpoſe had been buſie in divulging through all Great Britain their Apologeticall Pamphlets, whereby they laboured to ſet a good gloſſe upon the reaſons of their expedition. This reſolution of theirs, *Montroſe* being returned, ſeeing he could not hinder, would not ſeeme to diſapprove: *Montroſe* commaded in this Army two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, his friends (who were moſt obliged unto him, and had religiouſly promiſed their beſt endeavours in the Kings ſervice) had the command of five thouſand more. And truly if a great part of them had not been worſe then their words, they had either brought the whole Army along with them to the King, or at leaſt

had broken the neck of the Covenanters designes. When the Army came to the river of *Tweed* (which is the border of the two Kingdomes) dice were cast amongst the Noblemen and Commanders, and it was *Montroſe*'s his chance to paſſe firſt over the river; which he cheerfully performed on his feet, his own foote Souldiers following him, that he might more eaſily conceale his own reſolution, and take off all occaſion of ſuſpition. For as well his authority in the Army, as the integrity of his noble ſpirit began to be looked on with a jealous eye by the guilty conſcienced Rebells, ſo that they diligently obſerved all his behaviour, words and deeds.

After this, marching over the river of *Tine* four miles above *Newcaſtle*, by the treachery of the Engliſh Commanders who had retreated to *York* with a potent Army of the Kings, the Scots poſſeſſe themſelves of that Towne: and thereupon, Commiſſioners being appointed on either ſide to treat of a Peace, a Truce was preſently made. In the time of this Truce *Montroſe* had ſent Letters unto the King, profeſſing his fidelity, and moſt dutifull, and ready obedience to his Majeſty; nor did the Letters contain any thing elſe. Theſe being ſtoln away in the night, and copied out by the Kings own Bed-chambermen, men moſt endeared to the King of all the world, were ſent back by them to the Covenanters at *Newcaſtle*, and it was the faſhion with thoſe very men to communicate unto the Covenanters from day to day the Kings moſt ſecret counſels, of which they themſelves

only were either authors or partakers. And some of the forwarder sort of the Rebels were not ashamed to taxe *Montrose* bitterly enough with those Letters: and although they durst not make an open quarrell of it, or call him publiquely to account, because he was so powerfull and welbeloved in the Army, yet they loaded him with backbitings and slanders among the people. For they had obliged unto themselves most of the Preachers throughout the Kingdome, whose mercenary tongues they made use of to wind and turn the minds of the people which way they would. Nor did they promote their Rebellion more effectually any other way, nor doe yet, then this, to have those doughty Oratous in their popular preachments to raile bitterly against the King and all his Loyall Subjects, as the *enemies of Christ* (as they love to speake) being themselves the while the very shame and scandall of Christianity.

Montrose returning into *Scotland*, and thinking of nothing but how to preserve his Majesty from that storme of Rebellion hanging over his head, at last resolved of this course. He joynes many of the prime men for Nobility and Power, in a League with himselfe, in which they vowed to defend the Kings Majesty, and all his royall priviledges, and ancient and lawfull Prerogatives, with the hazard of their lives and estates, against all his enemies, as well home-bred, as forraigne, unto the last breath in their bodies. And truly it came to that passe, that there had been an open division in the Army (which was his aime) had

not ſome for fear, levity, or cowardiſe (which are bad keepers of counſell) betrayed the whole buſineſſe to the Covenanters. Hence aroſe no ſmall ſtirres and braules, but were pacified againe in a while; for neither yet durſt they offer any open violence to *Montroſe*. But afterward the confederates having given a new oath, made ſure the Army at their devotion, and joyning themſelves to the Parliament of *England* in a ſtrict Covenant, although they ſaw themſelves ſecure enough from the ſubtleſt deſigns of any private man, yet they ſeriouſly conſult how they ſhould take *Montroſe* out of the way, whoſe heroick ſpirit being fixt on high and honourable (howſoever difficult) atchievements they could not endure.

To make their way therefore unto ſo villanous an act, by the aſſiſtance of ſome Courtiers whom with gifts and promiſes they had corrupted, they underſtood that the King had written Letters to *Montroſe*, and that they were quilted in the ſaddle of the bearer, one *Stuart* belonging to the Earle of *Traquair*. The bearer was ſcarce entered the borders of *Scotland* but they apprehend him, rip his ſaddle and find the Letters. There was nothing at all written in them, which did not become the beſt of Kings to command, the beſt of Subjects to obey. Nevertheleſſe thoſe moſt exact crafts-maſters in the arts of Lying and Slandering ſet about horrible and tragicall reports by their apt Miniſters, that at laſt all the Kings plots with *Montroſe*, for the overthrow of Religion, and the ruine of the Kingdome were found

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out and diſcovered. Nor yet neither durſt they afford him a publique tryall, but on a ſuddain when he ſuſpected nothing, thruſt him (with *Napier* Lord of *Marchiſton*, and Sir *Sterling Keer* Knight, two both of his neer kindred and intimate familiars) into the caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

At length a Pacification being made between the people of both Kingdomes, (betweene whom there had been no War, only they laid their heads together againſt their moſt juſt and gracious King) a Parliament was called at *Edinburgh*, where the King in perſon was preſent. *Montroſe* deſires moſt earneſtly to be tryed before the King and that ſolemne Aſſembly; but to no purpoſe, for the Covenanters being conſcious enough of his innocency and their own guilt, applyed their ſpeciall endeavours to detain the Gentleman in priſon unheard, untill ſuch time as the King was got out of *Scotland*, and they had concluded all things with the King in Parliament according to their hearts deſire. And certainly they were much afraid, leſt by his wiſdome, and courage, and the eſteeme he was in, as well with his Peers of the Nobility as with the people, he ſhould have fetch't off the greateſt number of either ſort to his own reſolution for the preſervation of his Majeſties Power and Authority. At laſt the King returning into *England*, *Montroſe* and his friends are ſet at liberty: and becauſe it was ordered in Parliament that he ſhould not come into conference with the King, he ſat ſtill a while at his own houſe. This was towards the end of the year 1641.

CHAP. II.

IN the year 1642. the Covenanters of both Kingdomes began to unmask themſelves, and let us ſee more plainly what they meant to doe. The Rebels in *England* began to vexe the King with unjuſt, unreaſonable, unſeaſonable Petitions and Complaints, beſpatter him with malitious ſlanders, prophane his ſacred Name in ſcurrilous ſongs and Ballads, villifie him in infamous Libells, Paſquills or Pamphlets, raiſe Tumults, arme great numbers of the ſcum and raſcally ſort of of the people, and engage them upon the Kings palace; in a word, threaten all extremity to him and his: whom although he might have juſtly puniſhed himſelf, yet he choſe rather to refer them to the Parliament, that he might the more oblige it unto himſelf. But it was to no end for ſo gracious a King to gratifie that and many things more, to ſo ungracious, ſo ingratefull men, who were the very authors and abettors of theſe villanies. For he had already granted more and greater Graces to his Subjects, for the eaſe of their grievances (which they pretended) and the ſecurity of their perſons and eſtates, then all his Anceſtors the Kings of *England* together, from *William* the Conquerour downward. Therefore at laſt, that he might withdraw himſelfe and his family from preſent danger, he is forced ſore againſt his mind to depart *London*: He ſends the Queen out of the way into *Holland* for the ſafety of her life, and betakes himſelf to *Yorke*. The States

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of Parliament (as they call themſelves) forthwith, and before the King, take up armes, and divert thoſe very Forces which the King had appointed for *Ireland*, which were then in a readineſſe, and whoſe Officers had been of the Parliaments chuſing, hoping by them to overthrow the King himſelf.

The Rebells in *Scotland* who knew well enough the King would have ſtrength ſufficient to deale with the Engliſh Rebells, reſolved upon no termes to be wanting to their confederates in ſo apparent danger as they were. And although our moſt gracious King had given them ſatisfaction (as much as ever they could deſire) in that Parliament at *Edinburgh* aforeſaid, which alſo they have recorded among their publique Acts, nevertheleſſe they provide themſelves for a march into *England*.

Now that they might the better ſecure their affaires at home, they labour tooth and naile to draw *Montroſe* (of whom almoſt only they were afraid) againe to their ſide. They offer him of their owne accord the office of Lieutenant Generall in the Army, and what ever elſe he could deſire and they beſtow. He ſeeing a mighty ſtorme hovering over the Kings head, that he might give him an account of it whereby it might be timely prevented, undertakes a journey into *England*, taking the Lord *Ogilby* into his counſell and company.

At *Newcaſtle* he receives newes that the Queen being newly returned out of *Holland* was landed at *Birdlington* in *Yorkeſhire*: thither he makes haſte,

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and relates unto the Queen all things in order. She, having had a rough paſſage, and being not well recovered from the diſtempers at Sea, told him ſhee would adviſe further with him about that buſineſſe after they came to *York*. Thither being come, the Queen of her own accord calls for *Montroſe*, he opens the whole ſtory over againe, and makes it appeare, that there was no leſſe danger from the Scotch then from the Engliſh Covenanters, if they were not timely ſuppreſſed. And being asked his opinion what was beſt to be done, anſwered, *To reſiſt force with force*; told her, *the King wanted not Subjects in* Scotland, *faithfull men, and ſtout*; *nor did they want hearts, or wealth, or power to oppoſe againſt the Covenanters if they durſt enterpriſe any thing againſt the King: all that they wanted was the Kings Commiſſion without which they durſt doe nothing, with which any thing; and all the danger that was, was in delay: That the Covenanters, when they had once got their Army on foot would be able to grind any one to pieces that ſhould offer to ſtirre; therefore the beginnings of ſo great an evill were to be withſtood, and the cockatrice bruiſed in the egge; that phyſicke being too late that comes when the diſeaſe hath over-run the whole body.*

Wholeſome counſell it was, and ſeaſonable, which doubtleſſe the moſt prudent Queen had approved of. But while things were going on in ſo good a poſture, all things were quaſh't by the coming of the Duke *Hamilton* out of *Scotland*, upon pretence of kiſſing the Queens hand, and gratulating her happy returne,

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but in very deed that he might overthrow *Montroſe* his counſels; for hee had poſted thither with the knowledge and conſent of the Covenanters. Nor did he himſelf diſſemble that there was ſome danger from the Scottiſh Covenanters, but he laboured to extenuate it; and condemned the counſell of *Montroſe* as raſh, unadviſed, and unſeaſonable. *That ſtout and warlike nation was not to be reduced with force and armes, but with gentleneſſe and courteſies: Warre, eſpecially Civill Warre, ſhould be the laſt remedy, and uſed many times to be repented of even by the Conquerours. The fortune of Warre was uncertaine; if the King ſhould get the beſt, it would be but a ſorry triumph he could enjoy over his own Subjects: but if he had the worſt on't, he muſt expect what his ſoule* (good man) *abhorred to ſpeake. All meanes were to be tryed to preſerve peace with that Nation, nor were things yet come to that paſſe, that the King ſhould deſpaire of amity and reconciliation with them: He would bee ready to take the whole buſineſſe upon himſelfe, if the King pleaſed to commit it to his paines and truſt, and to authoriſe him ſufficiently thereunto.* Montroſe replyed, *nothing would come of that but the delay of time, untill the Traitors having raiſed an Army ſhould prevent the King of any meanes to deliver himſelfe and his party from their tyranny.* The ſad event proved all this to be too true; but in this debate *Montroſe* was faine to ſuffer himſelf to be overborn, being not ſo great a Courtier as the other; nor were thoſe vertues, which the world now admires, diſcovered then

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unto the Queen. *Hamilton* returning into *Scotland* ſeemed to be as Active for the King as was poſſible.

The Covenanters meane while by their own authority (contrary to the knowne Lawes of the Kingdome) ſummon a Parliament at *Edinburgh*; which all underſtanding men that wiſhed well unto the King foreſaw would be of very dangerous conſequence to his affaires, and therefore abhorred it ſo much that they intended not to honour it with their preſence. But *Hamilton* interpoſing the name and authority of the King, invited them by his Letters that they would not faile to be all there; and that they ſhould not doubt but they would be able to out-vote the Covenanters, if at this time they were not wanting to the Kings cauſe. And if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, he would be ready with his friends, to proteſt againſt the Covenanters, and immediately to leave them. Abundance of the Nobility incited by the name of the King, and thoſe hopes, were preſent at that Parliament, only *Montroſe* and a few of his adherents ſtaid away. And with *Montroſe* too the Duke had dealt by his friends, that as he loved and honoured the King he would joyn himſelf unto them. But he (who had reaſon to ſuſpect all motions that came that way) anſwered, that hee was ready to grapple with any difficulty, eſpecially under his command who had ſo great an honour as to be the Kings ſupreame Commiſſioner; only on this condition, that the Duke ſhould engage his honour, that if they could not bring up that Parliament to righ-

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teous things, he would endeavour to enforce them by the dint of the ſword. He anſwered, he would proteſt, he would not fight. Which paſſage conſidered, *Montroſe* to preſerve his integrity, expecting the iſſue, betooke himſelfe to his own home.

In that Parliament, the Covenanters out-voted the Loyall party by ſeventy voyces or thereabouts, trampled upon the Royall authority, arrogated unto themſelves the power of calling of Parliaments, preſſing Souldiers, ſending Embaſſadours, and other things hitherto unattempted, without the Kings knowledge or conſent. And to make up the meaſure of their preſumption and treaſon, ordaine that a powerfull Army ſhall be raiſed againſt the King, and in the aid of their confederates of *England*. To which purpoſe they taxe the people with new Subſidies and Levies, much heavier, then if all the Impoſitions which upon never ſo much neceſſity for two thouſand years ſpace by one hundred and nine Kings have been charged upon them, were put together.

Montroſe therefore, who ſaw the King was like to be ruined by his own authority, and ſaw too that he was too weake to oppoſe himſelfe both againſt the ſtrength of the Covenanters and the Kings abuſed Commiſſion, in a melancholy mood made as if he took no notice of any thing. And the Covenanters, ſuppoſing that he had received ſome diſtaſte from the King, by reaſon of the affront he received at *Yorke*, and *Hamiltons* over-powring him, they ſet upon him yet againe, privately and by friends, to ſee

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if by intreaty or intereſt they could draw him to their ſide; offering him authority and wealth, even the greateſt Honour Civill and Military. Which offers he did not ſeeme much to ſlight; that by that meanes he might have an eaſier way to dive into their counſells. The Covenanters that this growing friendſhip might bee the better cemented and ſanctified (God bleſſe us) ſend unto him that great Apoſtle of their Covenant, *Alexander Henderſon*, who ſhould give him full ſatisfaction in all his ſcruples. *Montroſe* hartily deſired to ſpeake with that fellow, out of whom he doubted not to pump all the ſecrets of the Covenanters: and leſt a private meeting with ſuch a man ſhould give a ſcandal to the Kings friends, he took the Lords *Napier* and *Ogelby*, and Sir *Sterling Keere* to be witneſſes of the diſcourſe, and on the bank of the river *Forth* not far from *Sterling* they met.

Montroſe made as though he accounted himſelfe very happy, and much honoured in the viſit of ſo worthy a man, upon whoſe faith, honeſty, and judgement, he ſo much relyed. Told him, *That to give the ill opinion of his enemies leave to breath it ſelfe after ſome late miſtakes, he was content to ſtay at home; that he knew nothing of what was done in Parliament; that he was almoſt at a loſſe how to behave himſelfe in that tickliſh condition the Common-wealth ſtood; and therefore beſeeched him for old acquaintance ſake to let him freely know what they intended.* Henderſon taking it for granted by theſe expreſſions, that he was

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wheeling about towards the Covenanters, that he might the more oblige the Marquesse unto him, answered him flatly and without more adoe, *That it was resolved to send as strong an Army as they could raise, in aid of their brethren of* England *against the Kings forces; that the Covenanters of both Kingdomes had unanimously agreed upon this, either to dye or bring the King to their lure; that nothing could fall out more happily, then that he should renew his friendship with his Peers of the Nobility, and the rest of the Kingdom; that so doing he would give great content to all men, besides the honour and profit that would redound to himselfe; that by his example others (if others there were that idolized the empty shadow of the Kings name,) would joyne themselves unto the Covenanters; and for his owne part he would give most hearty thanks unto his Lord God that he had vouchsafed to make use of him as the Minister and ever Mediatour of so great a worke*; and at last entreated him *to speake out his mind, and commit all such things to his care and industry as he should desire from the Parliament, either in relation to his honour or profit; assuring him he should be satisfied to his hearts desire.*

Montrose having gotten out the knowledge of those things which hee eagerly sought for, now bethought himselfe how he should keepe *Henderson* and his party in suspence a while, that they should not yet get within him. For what answer could he give them? If he should professe himselfe to be against their courses, that would doe the King no good,

good, and might bring a great deale of danger upon himselfe: and on the other side, to put them in greater hopes of him, by promising those things he never meant to performe, he scorned; as being a staine unto his honour. Therefore he takes this course there was present at that conference with *Henderson* one Sir *Iames Rollock*, Chiefe of a very ancient and flourishing family: his former wife had been *Montrose* his Sister, after whose death he married the Sister of the Marquesse of *Argyle*, the ring-leader of the Covenanters in *Scotland*: thus being allied unto them both, he seemed to be a very fit mediatour of friendship between them. *Montrose* askes him whether those things which had passed between them proceeded from the direction of the Parliament, or out of their owne good wills? He answered, he conceived that Master *Henderson* had received Commission from the Parliament to that purpose; but *Henderson* said no, but he made no question but the Parliament would make good any thing that he promised. *Montrose* told them, he could resolve upon nothing except he had the Publique faith to build upon, especially the messengers disagreeing between themselves. Whereupon (as the fashion is on such occasions) one of them layes the blame upon the other, when both of them ought rather to have condemned their own carlesnesse and negligence. The conference being thus ended, *Montrose* having obtained his ends, and they being no wiser then they came thither, every one went his own way.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Montroſe being returned from this Conference, related all things as they had paſſed unto ſome ſelect friends whom he could ſafely truſt; and withall entreated them, that (for the greater confirmation of the buſineſſe) they would all goe along with him to the King; that his Majeſty receiving a full account of all things, might lend his eare to ſound counſell, and yet (if it was poſſible) provide a remedy againſt ſo threatning evills. Moſt of them were of opinion, *That the King and his authority were utterly ruined and irrecoverable; that it was a thing paſſing the power of man to reduce that Kingdome to obedience; that for their parts they had asquitted themſelves before God, and the world, and their own conſciences; that hitherto with the diſgrace of their perſons, the loſſe of their eſtates, and the hazard of their lives they had continued in their allegiance; hereafter they would be only lookers on, and petitioners unto Almighty God for better times.* Montroſe who could by no meanes be removed from ſo honeſt a reſolution, communicating his counſell to the Lord *Ogilby*, (whom of all men he eſpecially loved) goes ſtraight to *Oxford*. The King was abſent thence, being gone to the ſiege of *Gloceſter*, he imparts unto the Queen what deſignes the Scottiſh Covenanters had againſt his Majeſty; but he had as good have ſaid nothing, for ſhe had determined not to beleeve a word, by reaſon of the far greater confidence ſhe repoſed in *Hamilton* and his brother.

Montrose, seeing no good was to be done with the Queen goes to *Glocester*, and declares all things to the King himself: How *there was a powerfull Army to be raised in* Scotland, *and a day appointed on which it should be brought into* England; *how their counsels were manifestly knowne unto him; and how to fetch him over to their side, they had offered him very honourable Commands in the Army; but that he heartily detesting so horrid an employment had fled to his Majesty; that he having notice thereof, if he were not able to provide so timely and powerfull a remedy as could be wished, at least might cast some blocks and rubs in their way untill such time as he had setled his affaires in* England; *that the traitours of either Kingdome might be easily dealt withall by themselves, but if they came once to joyne their forces they would be hardly suppreſt; that there were very many in* Scotland *who would sacrifice themselves and all that they had for their deareſt King, whose good will would be of no use unto his Majesty after the Covenanters had raised their Army, but destructive unto themselves; that the haughty spirits of the Traitors were to bee sneap't in time, and their strength broken before it grew too big, leſt the beginnings being neglected, repentance should prove the only opposition that could be made afterward.* These things, and to this effect did *Montrose* continually presse unto the King, but in vaine, for he had not only the strong and deeply rooted confidence his Majesty had of the *Hamiltons* to struggle with, but the devices of a set of desperate Courtiers beside,

beside, who daily buzzed in the Kings eares *Montrose*'s youth, his rashnesse, his ambition, the envy and hatred he bare unto the *Hamiltons*, and what not; and on the other side, the *Hamiltons* fidelity, their honesty, their discretion, their power. Thus *Montrose* nothing prevailes, and the King returnes to his winter quarters at *Oxford*. And although his Majesty saw very well (reports comming thick and three-fold of the Scottish Army) that all was true that *Montrose* had told him, yet the most religious King determined upon no termes to give any occasion of quarrell to the Scots till first they entered *England*; resolving that he for his part would perfectly observe the articles of Pacification he had made with them, which if they should violate, he doubted not but they should highly answer it both to God and him. While these things were discussed at *Oxford*, the Covenanters in *Scotland* bring their businesse about according to their desires, no one opposing them. They raise as big an Army as they can, which consisted of eighteen thousand Foot and two thousand Horse; and at last when they had marched unto the very borders, the *Hamiltons* were not ashamed to give the King notice by Letters of the approach of that formidable Army; making this their excuse, that according to their engagement they had prevented an invasion the summer before, but now that winter was come on they were able to keep them out no longer, but they would come in immediately with a powerfull Army. The King when he saw himselfe thus grosly abused

ſends for *Montroſe*, ſhewes him the *Hamiltons* Letters, and at laſt (when it was even too late) askes his advice what was beſt to be done.

Montroſe tells him, that his Majeſty might now ſee that what he had before given him notice of had neither proceeded from ambition, nor malice, nor any ſelf-ends, but from his bounden duty and allegeance; that for above a twelve-month he had been continually preſſing both their Majeſties to prevent this; that he accounted himſelfe very unhappy that all that while ſo faithfull a ſervant, could not be credited by ſo good a Maſter: that the caſe ſeemed now deſperate, but if the King had a mind he might truſt them againe who by pretence of his authority had bound ſome of his friends hands that they could not aſſiſt him, and drawn in others who intended nothing leſſe under colour of Loyalty to fight againſt him, and given up unto the Rebells, now that they had got an Army, all that they had without ſtriking a ſtroke. The King complaining that he was moſt abhominably betrayed by them with whom he had entruſted his Crowne, his Honour, his Secrets, his Life, earneſtly demanded his advice. He repeating againe the lamentableneſſe of the condition in which things now ſtood, nevertheleſſe offered, that if his Majeſty ſo thought good, he would either loſe his life, which if he did, he would be ſure it ſhould ſeeme rather ſold then loſt, or elſe (which he did only not deſpaire) he would reduce his Country-men and bring the Rebels there into ſubjection. The King being no little

little pleaſed with the confidence, undauntedneſſe, and gallantry of the man, that he might more adviſedly contrive his deſigne, deſired him to take two or three dayes to conſider of it and ſo diſmiſt him.

Montroſe returning at the time appointed, ſhews his Majeſty how deſperate an adventure he was undertaking; that all *Scotland* was under the Covenanters command, that they had Garriſoned all places of ſtrength, that they were plentifully provided both of men and mony, and armes, and ammunition, and victuall, and all things neceſſary for a Warre; that the Engliſh Rebells were joyned with them in a moſt ſtrict Covenant to defend one another againſt all the world. But for his own part he had nothing to ſet up with, neither men, nor armes, or pay; yet he would not diſtruſt Gods Aſſiſtance in a righteous cauſe, and if the King would lay his Commands upon him he would undertake to doe his beſt. The King ſhould be in no worſe caſe then he was, He himſelf would take what malice, envy, or danger ſhould fall upon himſelf, ſo that his Majeſty were graciouſly pleaſed to condeſcend to a few reaſonable requeſts. And firſt, that the buſineſſe might go on more ſucceſſefully, it ſeemed to him very neceſſary that the King ſhould ſend ſome Souldiers out of *Ireland* into the Weſt of *Scotland*. Next, that he ſhould give order to the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle* (who was the Generall of the Kings forces towards *Scotland*) that he ſhould aſſiſt *Montroſe* with a party of horſe to enter the South of *Scotland*, by which

means he might convey himselfe into the heart of the Kingdome. Then, that he should deale with the King of *Denmarke* for some troops of *Germane* horse. And lastly, that his Majesty should take some course to procure and transport some armes out of some forraign country into *Scotland*: nothing needed more but humane industry, the successe was Gods part, and to be referred to his providence. The King commending his counsell, and giving him thankes that he apprehended some life in the businesse encourageth him to fit himself cheerfully for so great a worke, and wished him to leave the care of those things he had requested unto him.

And truly for the matter of aid out of *Ireland*, the King sends for the Earle of *Antrim*, and acquaints him with *Montrose*'s design. This *Antrim* is of Scottish extraction, descended of the noble and ancient Family of the *Mac-Donalds*, a man of great estate and power in *Ireland*, and allyed to the prime Nobility of *England*, by matching with the Dutchesse of *Buckingham*. He being driven out of his owne country lived at *Oxford*, and cheerfully undertooke the negotiation with the Irish upon himself, and engaged himself also voluntarily unto *Montrose*, that he would be in *Argyle* (a part of *Scotland* bordering upon *Ireland*) with ten thousand men by the first of *April* 1644. this passed in *December* 1643. And as for forraigne aides and armes, the King sent Sir *John Cockeram* his Embassadour about it with his Commission and Instructions. And directions unto

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the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle* were carried by ſome of *Montroſe*'s own company. Who receiving the Kings Letters and Commiſſion to be Governour of *Scotland*, and Generall of the Army there, made himſelf ready for his journey. In the interim newes comes on a ſuddain that Duke *Hamilton* with his brother the Earle of *Lanneriske* were poſting up to *Oxford*. They, that they might make their acceſſe eaſier to the King who had hitherto given eare unto their counſells, and to continue or recover the good opinion the King had of them, gave out all the way as they came, eſpecially unto Governours of Shires and Townes, and Commanders of the Army, that they were baniſhed their Country, that they had been plundered of their eſtates by the Covenanters for their loyalty to the King, and that for ſafety of their lives, with which they had hardly eſcaped, they fled to *Oxford*. But *Montroſe* and thoſe of his mind ſaw plainly that theſe were but tales of their own making, of purpoſe to wipe off the ſuſpition of this new guilt; and that by this means, they in confidence of that eſteem they had lately with the King, and of a ſtrong faction they drove at Court, doubted not but they ſhould ſtand as fair in his opinion as ever, if they were but once admitted into the Kings preſence; and that the only buſſineſſe they had thither, was by defeating *Montroſe* againe, clearly to extinguiſh that little ſparke of Loyalty that was not yet quite out in *Scotland*. And *Montroſe* delivered himſelf freely, that for his part he would never ſtand by to be witneſſe of ſo great

an overſight: and therefore humbly beſought the King that he would give him leave to ſeeke his fortune in ſome forraigne countrey, if theſe men that had deceived him ſo oft ſhould be received againe into favour: not that he deſired any ſeverity ſhould be uſed againſt them, only he wiſhed the King might have a care that they ſhould do him no more harme. The King was drawne with much adoe that they ſhould be forbidden the Court, yet for all that he ſuffered the Earle of *Lanericke* to live in the City. But he (by whoſe inſtigations I cannot tell) betakes himſelf from *Oxford* to *London* to the Parliament of *England*, and not long after to the Scotch Army which had now entered *England*; and never ſince hath failed to doe them the beſt ſervice he could. The eſcape of his brother ſo much moved the King, that he ſaw it high time to ſecure the Duke himſelf.

There were ſeverall Scots in the Kings Court and Army who were ſuſpected (and perhaps not without reaſon) to favour the Covenanters too much, and to give intelligence unto them of the Kings counſels. *Montroſe* that he might put theſe to the touch tooke this courſe, He got a Proteſtation to be drawne up by the Kings authority, unto which all Scots who would have the reputation of honeſt men were to ſet their hands: Wherein *they profeſſed themſelves heartily to deteſt the courſes of the Covenanters, condemned eſpecially the bringing in of an Army into* England *againſt the King and the Lawes of the Land as an act of high treaſon; promiſed and vowed to acquit*

acquit themſelves of that ſcandall, and to the utmoſt of their power, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to oppoſe thoſe that were guilty of that crime. This Proteſtation all men of honour and honeſty readily tooke; but there were two, in whom the King truſted moſt of all Scotch-men next to the *Hamiltons*, to wit, the Earle of *Trequaire*, and Maſter *William Murray* of the Bed chamber, who were difficulty brought unto it at laſt, with much reluctancy and fear of being diſcovered traitours: yet even they engaged themſelves by a ſolemne Oath at a certain day to be aiding and aſſiſting unto *Montroſe* in *Scotland*; which Oath of theirs afterward they moſt unworthily violated.

This being done, and *Montroſe* on his journey from *Oxford* towards *Scotland*, thoſe that were the *Hamiltons* creatures, and other falſe-hearted Courtiers began to blaſt the Honour of *Montroſe*, to call him a vaine and ambitious man who had attempted an impoſſible thing: to extoll above meaſure the power of the Covenanters, and that they might deterre every one from engaging himſelf in ſo noble an exploit, gave out every where moſt maliciouſly, that no good was ever to be expected from *Montroſe*.

He being little troubled with the calumnies of unworthy men, came forward to *Yorke* and ſo to *Durham*: where he ſees that the Kings Inſtructions be ſent to the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle*, and the next day they met and conferred. *Newcaſtle* diſcours't of nothing but the diſtreſſes and neceſſities of his Army; how

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the Rebell Scots breaking in in the midſt of winter had ſpoiled his Recruits, and that now in farre greater numbers then he, they quartered within five miles of him; that he could not poſſibly ſpare any Horſe without a manifeſt hazard to the whole Army. *Montroſe* urged on the other ſide, that nothing could doe *Newcaſtle* more ſervice then to let him have a party of Horſe (in which he was very ſtrong) with him into *Scotland*, that ſo he might either divert, or at leaſt divide the enemy, and by kindling a fire in their own houſes fetch them home againe to defend themſelves. *Newcaſtle* courteouſly replyed, that aſſoone as he had wound himſelfe out of that preſent danger, hee would not be wanting in any ſervice to *Montroſe*: which promiſe, there is no doubt but a perſon of ſo much Honour and Loyalty would moſt ſurely have performed, had he continued any while in the Command of thoſe parts. In the meane time, all that he could do for the preſent was, to afford him about one hundred Horſe, but lean ones, and ill accoutred, (which was not the Generalls fault but ſome mens private ſpleen) with two braſſe Field-pieces.

Moreover he ſent his Orders unto the Kings Officers and Commanders in *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, that they ſhould give *Montroſe* all the ſuccour and aſſiſtance they could make for his journey into *Scotland*. *Montroſe* going towards *Carliſle* was accordingly met by the *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland* men, conſiſting of eight hundred Foot, and three troops of Horſe; who according to the Marqueſſe

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of *Newcastles* Command, were to waite upon him into *Scotland*. *Montrose* himself brought with him two hundred Horse, most of them Noblemen and Gentlemen, and such as had been Captains either in *Germany*, *France*, or *England*. With which small forces (not over-trusty neither) he entered *Scotland* on the 13. of *April*; for he made the more haste, lest he should have been absent at the time appointed by the Earle of *Antrim*.

CHAP. IIII.

Montrose having entred *Scotland* had come to the river of *Anan*, when upon a mutiny among the English, occasioned by *Richard Grahams* Souldiers, almost all of them flie their Colours, and in all haste runne back to *England*. Notwithstanding he with his own men came to *Dunfrise*, and took the Towne into protection upon surrender: and there he staid a while that he might be ready to entertaine *Antrim* and his *Irish*; but the day appointed being already pass'd, there came not so much as a Messenger from them, nor the least report of them into *Scotland*. And the Covenanters gathering themselves together on every side, there was no staying there any longer for *Montrose*, without being surprised; therefore he returns safe to *Carlile* with his men. And seeing he could neither procure any aid from the English, nor expected any Forraigners suddenly, nor had scarce any hopes of good from *Ireland*; and found

that the Earle of *Calendar* had raiſed a new Army in *Scotland* to ſecond Generall *Leſley*, who had by this time together with the Engliſh Covenanters beſieged *Yorke*, he reſolved, leſt he ſhould ſpend his time idlely, to engage himſelfe among the Kings Forces in *Northumberland* and the Biſhoprick; nor was that reſolution either unprofitable to them, or diſhonourable to himſelf.

For having ferreted a Garriſon of the Covenanters out of the towne of *Morpet*, he tooke in the Caſtle, permitted all the pillage unto the Engliſh, and taking an Oath of them that had held it, that they ſhould never more fight againſt the King, he ſent them away without any greater puniſhment. He tooke a Fort at the mouth of the river of *Tine* from the Covenanters, (who had not long before turned out an Engliſh Garriſon from thence) and diſmiſt the priſoners upon the ſame termes with thoſe of *Morpet*. He plentifully victualled *Newcaſtle* with corne brought from *Alnwicke*, and other places thereabouts. When this was done, he was ſent for by Letters from Prince *Rupert* Count Palatine of *Rhine*, who was then comming to raiſe the ſiege of *Yorke*. And although he made all the haſte he could, yet he met not the Prince till he was upon his retreat the day after that unfortunate battell. And truly the Prince freely offered *Montroſe* a thouſand Horſe to take along with him into *Scotland*, but ſome that were too powerfull with him dealt ſo with the good Prince, that the next day after that promiſe was made there, was not one horſe to be had.

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All things thus failing *Montroſe*, from which he expected any aſſiſtance, yet his ſpirit never failed him: therefore returning to *Carliſle* with thoſe few but faithfull and gallant men that ſtucke cloſe to him, he ſends away the Lord *Ogleby* and Sir *William Rollock* into the heart of *Scotland* in meane diſguiſe, leſt they ſhould be diſcovered by the enemy. Within a fortnight they returned, and brought word that all things in *Scotland* were deſperate; all Paſſes, Caſtles, Towns, poſſeſſed with Garriſons of the Covenanters, not could they find any one ſo hardy as to dare to ſpeake reverently or affectionately of the King. Moſt of thoſe who had adhered to *Montroſe* all this while, being caſt down with this ſad news, bethought themſelves of bending their courſes ſome other way, eſpecially when they were tampered with by that honeſt man the Earle *Traquair* to deſert the ſervice: who forgetting all his vowes and imprecations he had made before the King, undertook in the name of the Covenanters, not only for Indemnity to all that ſhould fall off unto them, but rewards and preferments too; as if he had been all this while an Agent for the Rebells, and not for the King, as he pretended. And yet this man was greater in the Kings favour, and more confided in then any one except the *Hamiltons*.

Montroſe calling his friends to counſell, deſires them to deliver their opinions what they conceived was fitteſt to be done in this ſad face of things. Some adviſe him to repaire to the King at *Oxford*, and certifie him that his Scotch Affaires were paſt recovery;

recovery; that *Antrim* came not with his Irish forces, nor was there any appearance of them; that little or no assistance had been obtained from the English; and as for Armes or aid from Forraigne parts, he had not so much as heard a word of them; so that it was none of his fault that his service had no better successe. Others were of opinion that it was better for him to excuse himselfe by Letters unto the King, and to send up his Commission along with them, and that he himself should step a while aside into some other Countrey till such time as it should please God to send better opportunities. But all agreed in this, that nothing more was to be attempted or thought of in *Scotland*. But he himself only entertained farre other thoughts in his high and undaunted spirit: He conceived himself bound never to forsake his dearest Lord the King though in extreamest hazards, and that it was an unworthinesse to despaire of so good a cause; and if he should attempt some greater matter then came within the reach of apprehension of common men, he conjectured it might prove much to his own Honour, and something perhaps to the Kings good too. For as it was dubious whether it might please God in his mercy to looke upon the King with a more favourable eye, and to turne his adversity into prosperity; so it was most certaine that if he should not be able to goe thorough with it but perish in the enterprise he should die with Honour, and his fall should be much lamented. So resolved, and commending himself and

his

his ſucceſſe to the diſpoſall and protection of Almighty God, he performed ſuch Adventures without men, without money, without armes, as were not only to the aſtoniſhment of us that were preſent, and were eye and eare witneſſes of them, but alſo the example and envy both of all great Commanders hereafter. What thoſe were we ſhall declare by and by.

Montroſe delivers thoſe few Gentlemen that had been conſtant unto him to the Lord *Ogilby*, to be conducted unto the King, (for as he had communicated all his former deſigns unto him, ſo he did this alſo) and conjureth him withall to deale earneſtly with his Majeſty for haſtening of ſome aid, if not of Men yet of Armes at leaſt, from beyond Seas, So he accompanying them two dayes on their journey, and leaving with them his Horſes, his Servants, and his Carriages, conveyed himſelf privily away from them, and with what ſpeed he could, came back to *Carliſle*. The company ſuſpecting nothing of his departure, becauſe *Ogleby* and other his deareſt friends were ſtill with them, marched on ſtraight towards *Oxford*; but thither they never reached, for moſt of them (of whom were the Lord *Ogleby* himſelf, Sir *John Innes*, and Collonel *Henry Graham* his brother, a moſt hopefull young Gentleman, *Innes*, *John*, and *Alexander Oglebyes*, *Patricke Melvin*, and other gallant men, and highly eſteemed by *Montroſe*) fell into the enemies hands, and endured a long and naſty impriſonment untill they were ſet at liberty by *Montroſe* himſelf the next yeare, after which they

did

did him moſt faithfull ſervice. He returning to *Carliſle* imparts his deſigne to the Earle of *Aboine*, leaſt he ſhould have any occaſion to cavill afterwards, that a matter of that conſequence was done without his knowledge or advice, who might have proved able to give a great ſtroke to the advancing of it. But when he found ſomething too much fickleneſſe in that young man he was not over earneſt to engage him to adventure with him in ſo perillous a journey; and therefore eaſily perſwaded him to reſide at *Carliſle* till he heard further news out of *Scotland*, by which time it might be more ſeaſonable for him to return into his Country.

And now being prepared for his journey, he ſelected only two men for his companions and guides; one was Sir *William Rollock*, a Gentleman of moſt known honeſty, and an able man both of his head and hands. The other was one *Sibbald*, whom for the report of his valour and gallantry, *Montroſe* did equally love and honour: but the latter afterwards deſerted him in his greateſt need. *Montroſe* paſſing as *Sibbalds* man, and being diſguiſed in the habit of a Groome, rode along upon a leane jade, and led another horſe in his hand. And ſo he came to the borders where he found all ordinary and ſafe paſſes guarded by the enemy. There was a chance happened which put them in a greater fright then all that, and it was this; not farre from the borders they hit by chance upon a ſervant of Sir *Richard Grahams*, who taking them for Covenanters, and to be of *Leſley's*

Army

Army who uſed to range about thoſe parts, told them freely and confidently that his Maſter had made his peace with the Covenanters, and had undertaken (as if he were their Centinell) to diſcover unto them all ſuch as came that way whom he ſuſpected to favour the King. An unworthy act it was of a ſhameleſſe villaine, of whom not only *Montroſe* had a very high eſteeme, but his Majeſty alſo, whoſe miſtaken bounty had raiſed him out of the dunghill (to ſay no worſe) unto the honour of Knighthood, and an eſtate even to the envy of his neighbours.

Having not paſſed much further, they met a Souldier, a Scotchman, but one that had ſerved under the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle* in *England*, who taking no notice of the other two Gentlemen, came to *Montroſe* and ſaluted him by his name: *Montroſe* giving no heed unto him, as if he were no ſuch man, the too officious ſouldier would not be ſo put off, but with a voyce and countenance full of humility and duty began to cry out, *What? Doe not I know my Lord Marqueſſe of* Montroſe *well enough? Goe your way, and God be with you whither ſoever you goe.* When he ſaw it was in vaine to conceale himſelf from the man, he gave him a few crownes and ſent him away, nor did he diſcover him afterwards. But *Montroſe* conceiving himſelfe much concerned in theſe ſpeeches, thought it the beſt courſe to make all the haſte he could, and to run faſter then the news of him could flie: nor did he ſpare any horſe-fleſh, or ſcarce draw bridle till after foure dayes travell he came to the

house of his cosen *Patrick Graham* of *Innisbrake*, not far from the river of *Tay* on that side of the Sheriffdome of *Perth* which is next the mountains. This *Patrick* being descended of the noble family of *Montrose*, and not unworthy of so noble parentage, was deservedly in very great esteeme with the Marquesse; who sojourned besides him for a little while in the day time in a meane cottage, and passed the nights alone in the neighbouring mountains. For hee had sent away his companions unto his friends, that they might inform themselves exactly of the whole state of the Kingdome, and bring him word in what condition they found it.

After a few dayes, having examined the matter with all the industry they could use, they returne with nothing but sad and tragicall newes: *That all the Subjects that were honest and loyall, lay under the tyranny of the Rebells; and of such as had been so hardy as to endeavour to recover their freedome with their swords, some were put to death, others fined, others being yet in prison, daily expected the worst their enemies could doe: That the Marquesse of* Huntley *had laid downe the armes which too unadvisedly he had taken up at the first summons of the enemy; that indeed he had had no contemptible number of men, but the men wanted a good Commander; that his friends and dependants were exposed to the implacable malice and revenge of their enemies, and that he himself had fled to the uttermost corner of the Iland, and sculked upon another mans land. Montrose* was very much trou-

bled

bled (as he had reaſon) at this newes eſpecially at *Huntley's* errour and the ruine of the *Gordons*, who were men of ſingular loyalty and valour, and expert ſouldiers, therefore much lamented by him, that for no fault of theirs, they ſhould come to ſo great misfortune. And now he began to caſt about how hee might draw them to himſelf, that they might try againe the fortune of War under another Generall in the behalf of his moſt excellent Majeſty.

CHAP. V.

IN the meane time there were ſome uncertaine reports ſpread abroad among the Shepheards who kept their flocks in the mountaines, of certaine Iriſh who were landed in the North of *Scotland*, and ranged about the mountaines. *Montroſe* conceived it not unlikely that theſe might be part of thoſe Auxiliaries which the Earle of *Antrim* had promiſed ſhould have been there four months before: but he had no certainty what they were, till at laſt ſome Letters came from ſome intimate friends of his, Highlanders, and from *Alexander Mac-donell*, a Scotchman alſo, to whom *Antrim* had given the Command in chiefe of thoſe few Iriſh, directed to *Montroſe*. Theſe they had taken care to ſend to a certaine friend of his, a ſure man, that he might convey them if it were poſſible to *Carliſle*, where *Montroſe* was beleeved ſtill to remaine. He, who never dreamed of *Montroſe's* returne into *Scotland*, though he ſojourned

by him, by chance acquainted Maſter *Patricke Graham* with the buſineſſe, he promiſeth to take charge of them, and undertaketh to ſee them ſafely delivered to *Montroſe*, though he made a journey as far as *Carliſle* of purpoſe; and ſo by the good providence of God they came into his hands much ſooner then could be expected. And he writes back, as from *Carliſle*, that they ſhould be of good comfort, for they ſhould not ſtay long either for ſufficient aſſiſtance to joyne with them, or a Generall to command them; and withall requires them forthwith to come down into *Athole*.

The people of *Athole* were engaged unto *Montroſe* by many obligations, men whom he valued moſt of all the Highlanders, both for their Loyalty, Piety, Conſtancy, and ſingular Valour: and truly they made good his opinion of them to the very end of the War. The Iriſh, with a very few Highlanders who were almoſt all of *Badenoth*, receiving *Montroſe*'s commands, marched ſtraight into *Athole*. He, who was not above twenty miles from them, comes to them immediately, and ere ever they looked for him, on foot, in the habit of a Mountainer, without any man along with him ſave the aboveſaid *Patricke Graham* his guide and companion. And indeed the Iriſh would hardly be perſwaded that that was *Montroſe*; but when they ſaw him ſo ſaluted, and only not adored like ſome great Deity, by the men of *Athole* and others that knew him well, they were overjoyed: for his coming to them was in exceeding

good

good time, they being then in extreame danger to be cut off. For *Argyle* was in their reare with a ſtrong and well ordered Army, the champaine countrey were ready in armes before them, expecting, if they ſhould make downe into the Plaine, to trample them to dirt with their horſes hoofes; the veſſels that brought them over were burnt by *Argyle*, that they might have no way to retreat; nor would the *Athole* men or any other that favoured the King venture any hazard with them, becauſe they were ſtrangers and came not by the Kings open and known Authority; nor had they any Commander of ancient Nobility, a thing by the Highlanders much ſet by, who would not fight under the command of *Alexander Mac-donell*, a man of no account with them laſtly their number was inconſiderable, being not above eleven hundred, though ten thouſand had been promiſed.

The next day, the *Athole* men to the number of eight hundred put themſelves in armes and offered their ſervice moſt cheerfully to *Montroſe* who having got this handfull of men, and earneſtly commending his moſt righteous Cauſe to the protection of Almighty God, now deſired nothing more then to be among the thickeſt of the enemy. Impatient therefore of further delay, that very day he marches through the Plains of *Athole* towards *Ern*; as well to make way for his friends and aſſiſtants eaſier acceſſe unto him (if any ſhould riſe upon the news) as that he might fall upon and amaze the Rebels, unlook't for, before they ſhould be able to joyne together who lay

at diſtance. Therefore paſſing by *Weme*, a caſtle of the *Meniſes*, ſeeing they handled a Trumpeter whom he ſent friendly unto them unworthily, and fell hotly upon the reare of his Army, he waſtes their fields, and cauſes all their houſes and corne to be fired; this was at the very firſt onſet of the War, to ſtrike terrour into the enemy. The ſame night he paſſed over *Tay*, the greateſt river in *Scotland*, with part of his Forces; the reſt follow him very early the next day. When they were ready to march on, he gave *Patrick Graham* (of whom I ſhall have often to ſpeak, and never without honour) at their earneſt requeſt the Command of the *Athole* men, and ſent him with the nimbleſt of them he could pick out amongſt them to ſcout before. He brings word he ſaw ſome Souldiers drawn up on the top of an hill at *Buckinh*: towards them *Montroſe* makes ſtraight. Theſe proved to be commanded by the Lord *Kilpont* ſon to the Earle of *Taith*, a man of ancient Nobility, and deſcended of the *Grahams*; and Sir *Iohn Drummond*, Son to the Earl of *Perth*, a kinſman alſo of *Montroſe*; who were both of them ſummoned by the Covenanters to joyne againſt the Iriſh as the Common enemy, and had with them five hundred Foot and no more; nor had they heard any certainty at all of *Montroſe*'s being in thoſe parts. He reſolveth with all ſpeed to ſurpriſe them, and either to winne them to his ſide or to cruſh them to pieces. But they as ſoon as they heard that *Montroſe* was Generall of thoſe Forces, ſend unto him ſome of their chiefeſt friends

friends to understand from him what he intended to doe. He tells them he had the Kings Authority for what he did, and was resolved to assert that Authority to the utmost of his power against a most horrid Rebellion, conjuring them by all the obligations that were between them, that they would not think much to doe their best endeavours for the best of Kings. Which as it was much becoming their high birth, and would be very acceptable service to the King, so it would be beneficiall unto them for the present, and much to their honour with posterity and strangers, if they of all others should be the first that put to their helping hands to hold up a tottering Crowne. They most readily without any delay came in unto him, for both of them though underhand favoured the King exceedingly.

From them *Montrose* understood that the Covenanters were thick in armes at a Rendezvouz at *Perth* (the second City to *Edinburgh*) and there waited for their enemies falling down from *Athole*. He knowing also that *Argile* with his Army was upon his backe, lest he should be hem'd in on both sides, determines to goe forward to *Perth*, that there he might either force the enemy to fight, or reduce the Towne to the Kings obedience. Marching therefore three miles from *Buckinth*, and allowing the Souldiers but a short time of refreshment, at the breake of day he drawes out his men. Nor was he above three miles more from the City, when the enemy was in view in a large and open Plain (called *Tippermore*)

more) providing to fight. They were commanded by the Lord *Elchoe*, one that was taken for no great ſouldier: there were with him the Earle of *Tullibardin*, and the Lord *Drummond*, but this latter (as was conceived) againſt his will, for he and his fathers whole family favoured the King in their hearts: Knights he had with him good ſtore, among whom Sir *James Scot* (who heretofore had done good ſervice under the State of *Venice*) was the moſt noted ſouldier. They had ſix thouſand Foote and ſeven hundred Horſe, and in confidence of their numbers, they had even devoured their enemies before they ſaw them. It was on Sunday the firſt of *September*, and it was given in charge to their Miniſters, that in ſet Speeches they ſhould encourage the people to fight, not forgetting to mind them of their moſt holy Covenant forſooth. And to give them their due they plyed their lungs ſtoutly in the performance of that worke; they moſt freely promiſed them in the name of Almighty God an eaſie and unbloudy victory; nay, there was one *Frederick Carmichael*, one very much cryed up for learning and holineſſe by the ſilly people, who was not afraid to deliver this paſſage in his Sermon, *If ever God ſpake word of truth out of my mouth, I promiſe you in his name aſſured victory this day.*

Gods ſervice being thus finely performed as they thought, they put their men in *Battalia*. *Elchoe* himſelf commanded the right flank, Sir *James Scot* the left, and the Earle of *Tullibardin* the battell. To the right

right and left flanks were added wings of horſe, with which they made no doubt on ſo faire a Plaine to hemme in the enemy. *Montroſe* perceiving the great body of the enemy, and eſpecially their ſtrength in Horſe, (for he had not ſo much as one Horſe-man, nor more then three leane horſes) and being carefull (as it concerned him) leſt being incompaſſed with ſo great a number, they ſhould fall upon him in the Front, Reare, and Flanke, he cauſed his Army to be drawne out to as open order as could be poſſible, and makes his Files only three deep. He commands the Ranks all to diſcharge at once, thoſe in the firſt Ranke kneeling, in the ſecond ſtooping, and in the hindmoſt, where he placed the talleſt men, upright: he chargeth them alſo to have a care of miſ-ſpending their powder, of which they had ſo ſmall ſtore, and that they ſhould not ſo much as make a ſhot till they came to the very teeth of their enemies; and aſſoone as they had diſcharged their muskets once a piece, immediately to breake in upon the enemy with their ſwords and musket ends; which if they did, he was very confident the enemy would never endure the charge. *Montroſe* undertakes the Command of the right Flanke over againſt Sir *James Scot*, appoints the left to the Lord *Kilpont*, and the maine Battell to *Macdonell* with his Iriſh: which was very providently ordered, leſt the Iriſh who were neither uſed to fight with long Pikes, nor were furniſhed with ſwords, if they had been placed on either flank ſhould have been expoſed to the fury of the Scotch Horſe.

Montroſe

Montrose had sent unto the Commanders of the enemy, *Drummond* Son and Heire to the Lord *Maderty*, a noble Gentleman, and accomplished with all kind of vertues; who declared in his name, *That* Montrose, *as well as the Kings Majesty from whom he had received his Commission, was most tender of shedding his Countreys blond, and had nothing more in his devotions, then that his victories might be written without a red Letter. And such a victory they might obtaine as well as he, if they should please but to have the honour to conquer themselves, and before a stroke were strucke to returne unto their Allegeance. That for his part he was covetous of no mans wealth, ambitious of no mans honour, envious at no mans preferment, thirsty after no mans blond; all that he desired was, that in the name of God they would at length give eare to sound counsell, and submit themselves and what belonged unto them unto the grace and protection of so good a King: who as he had hitherto condescended unto all things (either for matter of Religion or any thing else) which they thought good to aske, though to the exceeding great prejudice of his Prerogatives; so still they might find him like an indulgent Father ready to embrace his penitent children in his armes, although he had been provoked with unspeakeable injuries. But if they should continue still obstinate in their Rebellion, he called God to witnesse, that it was their own stubbornesse that forced him to the present encounter.* The Commanders of the enemies answered nothing at all to all this, but against the Law of

Nations

Nations ſent the Meſſenger (who out of meere love to his Countrey had undertaken the employment) priſoner with a company of rude Souldiers unto *Perth*, vowing aſſoone as they had got the victory to cut off his head. But God was more mercifull to him, and provided otherwiſe then they intended, for the ſafety of that gallant man.

They were come within musket ſhot when the enemies under the Command of the Lord *Drummond* ſent out a forlorne hope to provoke *Montroſe* to a light skirmiſh: he ſends a few to meet them, who at the firſt onſet diſorder and rout them, ſending them back to their maine body in no ſmall fright. *Montroſe* thought now was his opportunity, and that nothing could conduce more either to the encouragement of his own ſouldiers, or the terrour of the enemy, then immediatly to fall upon them as they were diſordered and aſtoniſhed with that freſh blow, nor would he give them time to rally or recover courage: therfore ſetting up a greatſhout he lets looſe his whole Army upon them. The enemy firſt at diſtance diſcharge their Ordnance, which made more noiſe then they did harme, afterwards marching forward, their Horſe labour to breake in upon *Montroſe*'s Souldiers; thoſe, when their powder was ſpent, and many of them had neither Pikes nor ſcarce Swords, they ſtoutly entertaine with ſuch weapons as the place would afford, good ſtones; of which they poured in ſuch numbers amongſt them with ſo great ſtrength and courage, that they forced them to retreat and to

trouble

trouble them no more. For the Iriſh and Highlanders ſtriving bravely whether ſhould outvie the other in valour, bore up ſo eagerly when they gave ground, that at laſt they betooke themſelves to the nimbleneſſe of their Horſes heeles. There was ſomething more to doe a little while longer in the right Flanke. Sir *Iames Scot* diſputed ſome time for the higher ground, but *Montroſe*'s men being ſtronger bodied, and eſpecially ſwifter footmen obtained the Hill; from thence the *Athole*-men ruſhed down with their drawn ſwords upon the enemy, and making little account of the muſquetiers, who ſent their bullets amongſt them as thick as haile, cloſing with them (as they lik't beſt to fight) they ſlaſh't and beat them down. At laſt the enemy not able to abide their fury, fairely ran away. Moſt of the Horſe made ſo good ſpeed as to ſave themſelves; but there was a great ſlaughter of the Foot, whom they purſued for ſix or ſeven miles. There were conceived to be two thouſand of the Covenanters ſlain, and more were taken priſoners: of whom ſome taking a Military Oath, took up arms again with the Conquerour; but perfidiouſly, for almoſt all forſook him afterwards. The reſt taking a Solemne Proteſtation that they would never after beare armes againſt the King; he ſet at liberty. He took in *Perth* the ſame day, without doing the leaſt harme unto the City, although moſt of the Citizens had fought againſt him in this battell; thinking by ſo great clemency to turne the hearts of the people towards their King, which was the only

only end to which he directed all his designes.

CHAP. VI.

HE staid three dayes at *Perth*, for there he expected many in those parts to come in with their friends and clients armed, who upon the noise of the late victory professed themselves most faithfull to the King; but none came but the Earle of *Kinoule* with a few gentlemen of *Gawry*, nor did they continue very constant unto him neither. And by this time *Argyle* was at hand with a great Army of Foot of his own, and supplies of Horse were joyned with him out of the South parts; therefore *Montrose* passing over the *Tay* tooke up his Quarters in the field (for other quarters he seldome had) near *Couper* a little village in *Angus*, where a famous Monastery once stood, but now lies on the ground. Here a brave young gentleman, Sir *Thomas Ogilby* Son to the Earle of *Arley*, with others of the Gentry of *Angus*, met him, and readily offered him their service; whom he courteously entertained, and sent them away with thankes, they pretending they only went to fit themselves for a march, nevertheless few of them returned besides the *Ogilbies*.

Next morning by breake of day before the *Revellier* was beat there was a great tumult in the Camp, the Souldiers ranne to their armes, and fell to be wild and raging; *Montrose* guessing that it was some falling out betwene the Highlanders and the Irish, thrust himself in amongst the thickest of them: there he

he finds a moſt horrible murther newly committed, for the noble Lord *Kilpont* lay there baſely ſlaine. The murtherer was a retainer of his owne, one *Stuart*, whom he had treated with much friendſhip and familiarity, in ſo much that that ſame night they lay both in a bed. It is reported that the baſe ſlave had a plot to diſpatch *Montroſe*, and in regard of the great power he had with *Kilpont*, he conceived he might draw him in to be acceſſary to the villany, therefore taking him aſide into a private place, he had diſcovered unto him his intentions; which the Nobleman highly deteſted, as was meet; whereupon the murtherer fearing he would diſcover him, aſſaulted him unawares, and ſtabbed him with many wounds, who little ſuſpected any harme from his friend and creature. The treacherous aſſaſſine by killing a Centinell eſcaped, none being able to purſue him, it being ſo darke that they could ſcarce ſee the ends of their Pikes. Some ſay the traitor was hired by the Covenanters to doe this, others only that he was promiſed a reward if he did it. Howſoever it was, this is moſt certaine that he is very high in their favour unto this very day, and that *Argyle* immediately advanced him (though he was no ſouldier) to great commands in his Army. *Montroſe* was very much troubled with the loſſe of this Nobleman, his deare friend, and one that had deſerved very well both from the King and himſelfe, a man famous for arts and armes, and honeſty; being a good Philoſopher, a good Divine, a good Lawyer, a good Souldier, a good Subject,

Subject, and a good man: And embracing the breathleſſe body againe and againe with ſighes and teares, he delivers it to his ſorrowfull friends and ſervants to be carried to his parents to receive its funerall Obſequies as became the ſplendor of that honourable Family.

With the reſt of his Forces *Montroſe* marcheth to *Dundee*: the Towne being proud of the number of its inhabitants, and having a Garriſon out of *Fife* beſide, refuſed to ſubmit. And he, thinking it no wiſdome to hazard the honour he had gotten by his late victory upon the doubtfull ſucceſſe of a ſiege, turns away toward *Eske*; for he hoped that many of his friends and kindred, being men of greateſt note in thoſe parts, and who uſed to talke as highly what they would doe for the King as any others, would be ready to joyne with him. But they having news of his approach withdrew themſelves: only the Lord *Ogleby* Earle of *Airley*, a man of threeſcore years old, (with his two Sons, Sir *Thomas*, and Sir *David*, and ſome of his friends and clients, men of experienced reſolutions) joyned himſelf unto him: and with admirable conſtancy he went along with him through all fortunes unto the very end of the War; being in that almoſt univerſall defection, the other honour and ornament of the Nobility of *Scotland* beſides *Montroſe*.

While *Montroſe* was hereabouts, he receives intelligence that ſome Commiſſioners from the Covenanters (of whom the Lord *Burghly* was the principall)

pall) lay at *Aberdene* with an Army, and laboured to assure unto themselves the Northerne parts, upon which *Montrose* especially relyed, either by faire meanes or foule. He determines to fight these immediately before *Argyle* could come up to them, therefore with long marches he hies thither and possessing himself of the bridge upon the river of *Dee*, and drawing neare the City, he found the enemy drawn up close beside it. *Burghley* commanded two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse whom he placed in wings; and having chosen his ground, and planted his great Guns before his men, he expected battell. *Montrose* had fifteene hundred Foot (for the Lord *Kilpont ins* souldiers were gone to convey their Lords dead body to his parents, and most of the *Athole*-men after the victory of *Perth* were gone home, from whence they were not farre, laden with spoile.) and just foure and forty Horse, of whom he made two divisions, and mixing amongst them the best fire-men and Archers that he had(who in nimblenesse and swiftnesse of body were almost as good as horsemen) placed them on either wing, to prevent the falling of the enemies Horse upon his reare; which they performed most gallantly beyond the opinion or perhaps the beliefe of many. He gave the command of the right flank to *Iames Hay* and *Nathaniel Gordon*, and of the left to Sir *William Rollock*, all valiant men. The left wing of the enemy was commanded by *Lewis Gordon*, Son to the Marquesse of *Huntley*, a bold young man and hot spirited, but haire

haire brain'd and one that had forced out his fathers friends and clients to fight with *Montroſe* againſt their wills. He having gotten the plaine and moſt commodious ground for fighting on horſe-back, charged *Montroſe*'s right flank: which when he perceived, he commanded *Rollock* with his twenty Horſe to their aid and they, being backed with the gallantry of their Commanders, and the activity and ſtoutneſſe of the Foot amongſt them, received the charge with ſo much hardineſſe, that they foure and forty, beat back full three hundred of the enemy, routing all and killing very many. But becauſe they were ſo few they durſt not follow the chaſe: which was forborne by the great prudence of the Commanders, and proved to be of great conſequence towards the obtaining of the victory: for the enemy charged *Montroſe*'s left Flanke (which had no Horſe) with their right Wing of Horſe. *Montroſe* therefore in a trice (now that *Lewis Gordon* and his men were fled) conveighs the ſame Horſe to the left Flanke; who ſeeing they were not able to draw themſelves into a Body like the enemies, fetch't a compaſſe about, and ſo eſcaped their firſt charge; then neatly wheeling about they fall upon the Flanke of the enemy, and with their naked ſwords, beat, and cut, and vanquiſh, and put them to flight. They tooke priſoners one *Forbes* of *Kragevar* a Knight of great eſteeme with the enemy, and another *Forbes* of *Boindle*. Thoſe that retreated got ſafe away, becauſe that ſo few could not ſafely purſue them. They that commanded the

enemies Horſe were not ſo much frighted with their loſſe, as vexed with the diſgrace of a double repulſe, therefore imputing their defeat to thoſe light fire locks that were mixed with *Montroſe's* Horſe, they themſelves call for Foot-men out of their maine Body intending to returne with greater courage. *Montroſe* ſuſpected that, and was loath to engage thoſe few gallant men againe, (whoſe Horſes were ſpent already in two ſharp ſervices,) with the enemy who was reinforced with freſh Foot. Therefore obſerving the enemies Horſe not yet rallied ſince their new rout, and ſtanding at a ſufficient diſtance from their Foot; he rode about among his own Foot, who had been ſore galled already with the enemies Ordnance) and beſpeaks them to this effect: *We doe no good (my fellow ſouldiers) while we diſpute the matter at thus much diſtance except we cloſe up with them how ſhall we know an able man from a weake, a valiant man from a coward? If ye would aſſaile theſe timorous and brawneleſſe ſhrimps with handy blows, they will never be able to ſtand you. Goe to therefore, fall about them with your ſwords and butt-end of your muskets, beat them downe, drive them back, and make them pay what is juſtly due for their treaſon and rebellion.* It was no ſooner ſaid, then they fall to worke, breake in upon the enemy, defeate them, rout them. Their Horſe who expected Foot to come and line them, ſeeing them all run away, ran faſter then they: whom the Conquerours were not able to follow much leſſe to overtake, ſo they ſcap't ſcot-free; but the Foot

paid

paid for all, few of which eſcaped the Victors hands. For having no other place to fly unto but into the City, *Montroſe*'s men came in thronging amongſt them through the gates and poſternes, and laid them on heaps all over the ſtreets. They fought foure houres upon ſuch equall termes, that it was an even lay whether had the oddes. At this Battell *Montroſe* had ſome great Guns, but they were unſerviceable, becauſe all advantages of ground were poſſeſſed by the enemy; but the enemies Guns made no ſmall havock of his men. Among others, there was an Iriſhman that had his legge ſhot off with a Cannon bullet, only it hung by a little skin; he ſeeing his fellow-ſouldiers ſomething ſad at his miſchance, with a loud and cheerfull voyce cryes out, *Come on, my Comerades, this is but the fortune of Warre, and neither you nor I have reaſon to be ſorry for it. Doe you ſtand to it as becomes you, and as for me, I am ſure my Lord Marqueſſe, ſeeing I can no longer ſerve on foot, will mount me on horſe backe:* So drawing out his knife, being nothing altered nor troubled, he cut aſunder the skin with his own hand, and gave his legge to one of his fellow-ſouldiers to bury. And truly when he was well againe, and made a Trooper, he often did very faithfull and gallant ſervice. This battell was fought at *Aberdene* on the twelth day of *September*, 1644. Then *Montroſe* calling his ſouldiers back to their Colours entered the City, and allowed them two dayes reſt.

CHAP. VII.

IN the meane time news is brought that *Argyle* was hard by with much greater forces then thoſe they dealt with laſt, the Earle of *Lothian* accompanying him with fifteen hundred Horſe. Therefore *Montroſe* removes from *Aberdene* to *Kintor* a Village ten miles off, that he might make an eaſier acceſſe unto him for the *Gordons* (the friends and dependants of the Marqueſſe of *Huntley*) and others that were ſuppoſed much to favour the Kings cauſe. From thence he ſends Sir *William Rollocke* to *Oxford*, to acquaint his Majeſty with the good ſucceſſe he had hitherto obtained, and to deſire ſupplies out of *England*, or ſome place elſe. *That he had fought twice indeed very proſperouſly, but it could not be expected that ſeeing he was ſo beſet on all ſides, with great and numerous Armies, he ſhould be able to hold out always without timely reliefe.* Still nothing troubled *Montroſe* more, then that none of the *Gordons*, of whom he conceived great hopes, came in unto him. And there wanted not ſome of them, who teſtified their great affection to the ſervice, but that *Huntley* the chief of the Family, being a back-friend to *Montroſe*, had with-held them all, either by his own example, or private directions; and that himſelf being forced to ſculk in the utmoſt border of the Kingdome, envied that honour to another of which he had miſſed himſelf, and had forbidden, even with threats, all thoſe

thoſe with whom he had any power, to have any thing to doe with *Montroſe* or to aſſiſt him either with their power or counſell. Which when he underſtood, he reſolved to withdraw his Forces into the Mountains and Faſtneſſes, where he knew the enemies horſe (wherein their great ſtrength conſiſted) could do them little ſervice; and of their Foot (if they were never ſo many) relying upon the juſtice of his cauſe, and the valour of his ſouldiers, he made but little reckoning. Therefore he hid his Ordnance in a bogge, and quitted all his troubleſome and heavy carriages. And coming to the ſide of the river of *Spey*, not farre from an old caſtle called *Rothmurke*, he incamped there: with an Army, if one reſpect the number but very ſmall, but it was an expert and cheerfull one, and now alſo ſomething acquainted with victory.

On the other ſide of the *Spey*, he finds the men of *Cathnes*, and *Suderland*, and *Roſſe*, and *Murray*, and others to the number of five thouſand up in armes to hinder his paſſage over the ſwifteſt River in all *Scotland*, till ſuch time as *Argyle* who marched after him was upon his back. Being oppreſſed, and as it were beſieged with ſo many enemies on every ſide, that at leaſt he might ſave himſelf from their Horſe, he turned into *Badenoth*, a rocky and mountainous Countrey, and ſcarce paſſable for Horſe. There for certaine dayes he was very ſicke, which occaſioned ſo immoderate joy to the Covenanters, that they doubted not to give out he was quite dead, and to ordaine a day of publique Thankeſgiving to Almighty God

for that great deliverance. Nor were their Levites you may be ſure backward in that employment in their Pulpits; for as if they had been of counſell at the Decree, and ſtood by at the execution, they aſſured the people that it was as true as Goſpell, that the Lord of Hoſtes had ſlaine *Montroſe* with his own hands. But this joy did not laſt them long, for he recovered in a ſhort ſpace; and as if he had been riſen from the dead, he frighted his enemies much more then he had done before. For aſſoon as his diſeaſe would give him leave, he returned into *Athole*, and ſent away *Mac-donell* with a party unto the Highlanders, to invite them to take up armes with him; and if they would not be invited, to force them. He himſelf goes into *Angus*, hoping it might happen that he ſhould either force *Argyle* with his tyred Horſe unto his Winter quarters, or at leaſt leave him far enough behind him. For *Argyle* had purſued him ſo ſlowly, and at ſuch diſtance, that it was apparent he thought of nothing leſſe then of giving him battaile. Therefore going through *Angus*, and getting over the *Grawsbaine* (which going along with a perpetuall ridge from Eaſt to Weſt, divideth *Scotland* into two equall parts) he returned into the North of the Kingdome. And now that he had left *Argyle* ſo far behind him, that he might ſafely take ſome time to recruit, he went to *Strathbogy*, that he might meet with the *Gordons*, and perſwade them to engage with him. But he loſt his labour, for they were forеſtalled by *Huntley*, and after his example plaid leaſt in

ſight.

ſight. For ſuch as were generous and daring ſpirits, though they were loath to provoke the indignation of their Chief, yet they could not but be aſhamed, that at a time when there might be ſo much uſe of them they did nothing. Beſides, the Lord *Gordon*, *Huntley*'s eldeſt Son (a man of ſingular worth and accompliſhment) was detained by *Argyle* his uncle by the mothers ſide: the Earle of *Aboine* the ſecond Son was incloſed within the ſiege of *Carliſle*; and *Lewes* another Son was of the enemies ſide; ſo that there was no one of *Huntley*'s family under whoſe authority they ſhould take up Armes.

Notwithſtanding *Montroſe* quartered there a great while; in which time almoſt every other night marching ſeven, or eight, or ten miles with a party of light Foot (for Horſe he had few or none) he uſed to give alarmes to the enemy, beat up their quarters, put them to flight, and frequently to bring home horſe and men priſoners. And becauſe he alwayes brought his men ſafe off, it was ſtrange to ſee how cheerfull and daring his ſouldiers were; ſo that though their number was not great, there was nothing that he would lead them on unto, that ſeemed great to them. At laſt when he deſpaired of any good to be done with the *Gordons*, at the end of *October* he removed from *Strathbogy*, and came to *Faivy* Caſtle and poſſeſt it. There he was like to have been utterly undone by the bad and falſe intelligence his Scouts in whom he put great confidence brought unto him concerning the enemy: for thoſe whom they

perſwaded him were ſcarce got over *Grainsbaine* were on a ſudden encamped within two miles of him. *Argyle* and *Lothian* had there two thouſand five hundred Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe: *Montroſe*, now when *Mac-donell* was abſent with a party, had fifteen hundred Foot and about fifty Horſe. If he ſhould have deſcended into the Plaine with ſo ſmall ſtrength it had been madneſſe; and to keep a Caſtle (and no ſtrong one neither) he thought diſhonourable and derogatory to the credit of his late victories. Therefore he bethought himſelf of another courſe, he drawes his men up unto a higher hill which over-look't the Caſtle. The ſoile of the hill was rough, and there were hedges alſo and ditches caſt up there by the Husbandmen for the fences of their fields, which were almoſt as uſefull as Breaſt-works. But before he had appointed every one his ground to draw up in, thoſe few of *Huntly*'s dependants which accompanied *Montroſe* from *Strathbogy*, in the ſight of all people fairly betooke them to their heels. And on the other ſide, the enemy driving fiercely up the hill, made themſelves maſters of no ſmall part of it; which if they had been able to maintaine with the ſame vigour that they had obtained it, *Montroſe* had been a loſt man: whoſe Souldiers, diſcouraged both by the timorous flight of ſome of their own, and the multitude of their enemies forces, were well neare ready to turne their backs; them *Montroſe* preſently put life and courage into by his own example and preſence, by putting them

in

in mind of their former atchievements, and their own ſence of their wonted proweſſe. Moreover he thus beſpake a young Iriſh Gentleman, one Collonel *O Kyan, Goe thy way, O Kyan with ſuch men as thou haſt at hand, and drive me thoſe fellows out of yonder ditches that we may be no more troubled with them.* The gallantry of *O Kyan Montroſe* had often ſeen and commended, nor did that truly valiant man deceive the Generals opinion of him, for he quickly firretted the enemy out of the ditches, though they much out-numbred his men, and were ſeconded with a party of Horſe. And not only ſo, but gained ſome bagges of powder which the enemy had left behind them for haſte, a very ſeaſonable pray, of which they had great need. Nor doth a notable example of the forwardneſſe of the Souldiers ſeeme to me unworthy in this place to be remembred; for one of them looking upon the bagges of powder, *What* (ſaith he) *have they given us no bullets? Marry but wee muſt fetch bullets too from thoſe ſparing diſtributors of Ammunition.* As if it had been altogether the enemies duty to provide them neceſſaries for the Warre.

In the meane time his Horſe (which were but fifty) being diſpoſed in a place of danger, he timely ſecured them by lining them with musketiers. For *Lothain* charged them with five whole troops, who before they had croſſed over half a field that lay between them, being ſcared with our ſhot wheel'd about, and returned to the place from whence they came,

came. *Montroſe*'s men being encouraged with theſe two ſucceſſes could hardly be kept off from falling on with a ſhout upon the whole body of the enemy: whom *Montroſe* reſtraines rather with a kind of commendation of them (as was meet) then reproof, only bids every one know his own duty and wait his commands. Towards night, *Argyle* having done nothing to any purpoſe, retreats two miles off, and ſlept not that night. But the next day, when he was told that *Montroſe*'s ſouldiers had great ſcarcity of powder and bullet, drawing his men into the ſame ground againe, he made as though he would have charged up the Hill, and beaten *Montroſe*, out of his hold. But when his heart failed him in that enterpriſe, beſides ſome skirmiſhes between ſmall parties while the main bodies kept their ground, there was nothing done that day neither. All this while *Montroſe* ſends for all diſhes, and flaggons, and chamber-pots, and what other pewter veſſels could be had, and cauſed them to be melted into bullet; yet when that was done the ſouldiers had not enough. With which great inconvenience the ſouldiers were ſo little troubled, that one as often as he made a ſhot (which he preſumed never miſſed) he would ſay merrily to his Comerades, *As ſure as can be I have broken one Traytors face with a chamber-pot.* Nor will any one wonder if *Montroſe*'s men were oft in want of powder and other neceſſaries for War, when he conſiders they had no other way to ſupply themſelves with them, but out of their enemies ſtock. And now

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the ſecond day being almoſt ſpent, *Argile* withdraws his men over the river, the way that they came, three Scotch miles (which make one Dutch mile) off. The time was thus ſpent at *Faivy* for ſeverall dayes, *Argile* carrying nothing away with that great Army, but diſgrace among his friends, and contempt among his enemies; for it was wholly imputed to his cowardiſe that there he had not made an abſolute conqueſt.

At laſt *Montroſe* (leaſt by marching away in the day time he might have ſome of his Rear cut off by the enemies Horſe) takes the advantage of the night to returne to *Strathbogy*: where he intended to make ſome ſtay, both becauſe the craggineſſe of the Countrey was a good ſecurity to his Souldiers againſt the incurſions of the enemies Horſe, and becauſe it was near thoſe places from whence he daily expected *Mac-donell*, with what Highlanders he could raiſe. The next day the enemy purſues him with an intention to force him to fight with them in the open field: and truly aſſoone as they came in ſight of them, drawing up their men they made ready to battell, as if they would have fallen on withall their power. But a forlorne hope of Highlanders was ſent before by *Argile* to engage *Montroſe* in a light skirmiſh, who were manfully entertained and repulſed. Then *Montroſe* having poſſeſſed himſelf of the higheſt ground, *Argile* alters his reſolution, and thinkes upon that which was more ſafe and leſſe honourable. He deſires a Ceſſation, propoſes that engagements may be given

on

on both ſides for a Conference and Treaty; yet at the ſame time, he did not only tempt the Souldiers to forſake *Montroſe* by promiſing them indemnity and rewards to boot; but (which is a ſhame to ſay even of an enemy) ſet a great price upon *Montroſe*'s head, to be paid unto any aſſaſſine or murtherer that ſhould bring it in. Of which, when *Montroſe* was well aſſured, (who well knew the diſpoſition of the man to be more bent to overreach and betray, then to fight with his enemy) he thought nothing concerned him more, then with all ſpeed to bring off thoſe ſmall Forces he had as far as he could, both from *Argyle*'s Horſe and knavery.

Therefore calling a counſell of War, he declares his opinion, they all approve his wiſdome, and promiſe to continue their fidelity and their beſt endeavours to ſerve him. Therefore he reſolveth upon a long march the next night, as far as *Badenoth*; and that the Souldiers might be lighter for ſo great a journey, he ſent the Carriages before with a guard, and bid the Souldiers make themſelves ready againſt the next day, as if they were to fight. And now the Carriages were on the way, when on a ſudden news came that *Forbes* of *Creigaver*, a priſoner, (to whom upon the engagement of his Honour for his true impriſonment *Montroſe* had given the liberty of the Camp) and that *Sibbalds*, who beſides *Rollock* was only of his counſell and company when he came out of *England*, and ſome others had made an eſcape and run away to the enemy. He was troubled at the perfidi-

perfidiouſneſſe of the men, and juſtly ſuſpected that they, to ingratiate themſelves with the enemy, would betray his counſells. Therefore he ſtraight called back the Convoy with the Carriages, and ſeemed as if he had wholly altered his reſolutions. But indeed he altered them not, but thought it fit to delay them for a time, that the intelligence which the enemy received from his fugitives might appeare unto them idle and uncertaine. But after four dayes he ſent the Carriages away againe before him, and making fires through all the Camp, he placed all the Horſe he had within view of the enemy, as if they kept their guard there, till ſuch time as the Foot were marched far enough from danger, and then brought the Horſe alſo ſafe off, and all by break of day came to *Balveny*. And now being ſafe from having their quarters beaten up by the enemies Horſe, and they no further purſuing, it being alſo the very deep of winter, he allowed a few dayes unto the refreſhment of his Souldiers. And at this time eſpecially *Argyle* began to appear in his own colours, and his ſubtilties were manifeſted. For moſt of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and prime Souldiers that were with *Montroſe* (who ſetting aſide Iriſh-men and Highlanders, had more Commanders then private Souldiers in his army deſerted him, and fell off to *Argyle*. Some of them pretended ſickneſſe, others diſability to make ſuch long marches in winter time over mountains uninhabited, unpaſſable, full of nothing but ſtones and bryars, for the moſt part deep in ſnow, and never travelled over

by

by any man alive. And therefore ſore againſt their wills, as they ſaid, and being compelled to depart by an extreame neceſſity, they deſired his Paſſe: which he denyed to none that aſk't; but yet look't upon them rather with a kind of indignation and ſcorn, then approbation or compaſſion. Nor can one eaſily ſay how much the example of ſuch men weakened his Forces, and how much it diſheartened many that intended to have liſted themſelves under his Command. But the old Lord *Ogelby* the Earle of *Airley*, a man of threeſcore years old, and not very healthy neither, together with two of his Sons moſt worthy of ſuch a father, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *David*, could never be perſwaded even in the extreameſt hazard of their lives to depart from him.

CHAP. VIII.

Montroſe returning from *Balveny* to *Badenoth* met a very faithfull intelligencer, who gave him notice that *Argyle* with his Foot (for his Horſe were gone to their winter quartes) lay at *Dunkeldon*, and that from thence he uſed all his induſtry to perſwade the *Athole* men to revolt. He, although he was aſſured of their loyalty, nevertheleſſe with incredible haſt goes down into *Athole*. For in one night he marched with his Forces foure and twenty miles, through wayes untrodden, untilled, full of ſnow, waſte, and never inhabited by mortall man, to the intent he might fall upon *Argyle*, whiles he had not his Horſe

Horſe about him. But he being frighted with the report of his coming, when *Montroſe* was yet ſixteen miles off, bid his men ſhift for themſelves, and he himſelf fled as faſt as he could into *Perth*, wherein the Covenanters had a ſtrong Garriſon. *Mac-donell* was by this time returned, and brought along with him the Chief of the *Macrenalds* with his men to the number of five hundred: and *Montroſe* himſelf added to that number *Patrick Graham* with ſome choice men of *Athole*. Being recruited with theſe, he marcheth to the lake out of which the river of *Tay* breaks forth, to paſſe from thence through *Bradalbaine* into the Country of *Argyle*; for he thought an enemy could never be ſo happily overthrown as in his own Countrey. And truly he had many ſtrong reaſons for that reſolution. *In the firſt place* Argyle's *power and authority amongſt the Highlanders rendered him formidable to his Peers and neighbours, and ſo conduced much both to raiſe and foment the whole Rebellion; For aſſoone as any one adventured to oppoſe the Covenanters, or diſpute their Command preſently* Argyle *gathering a tumultuous army of five or ſix thouſand Highlanders (who for all that ſerved him againſt their wils) cruſh't him in pieces; and therefore he had all the reaſon in the world to bring down the power of ſo ſeditious, and covetous, and cruell a man. Moreover, thoſe Highlanders who did not only favour the Kings cauſe, but hated* Argyle *heartily, as having had a ſufficient experience of his Tyranny, durſt not appeare as they would till he was*

firſt

firſt ſubdued. And laſtly the Low-lands of the King-dome were maintained by the Covenanters with ſtrong Garriſons, and great bodies of Horſe: ſo that except he had a mind utterly to undoe his friends, he had no other place to winter his Souldiers in but that. And *being preſſed with theſe reaſons, with long and foule journeys, and incredible ſpeed he commeth into* Argyle.

The Earle at that time was liſting ſouldiers in his Country, and had appointed the day and place for a Rendevouz, He lived ſecurely in the caſtle of *Innerare*. ſuppoſing no enemy to be within a hundred miles of him. For he could never before be brought to beleeve that an Army could get into *Argile* on foot in the midſt of ſummer, and many times heretofore he has been heard to bragge, that he had rather loſe a hundred thouſand Crownes, then any mortall man ſhould know the way by which an Army could enter into his Countrey. When he therefore ſuſpected nothing leſſe, the trembling Cow-herds came downe from the hills, and told him the enemy was within two miles. He not knowing what to do, and almoſt beſides himſelf for fear, at laſt commits himſelf to a fiſher-boat, and flies away; leaving his friends, and ſervants, and the whole countrey to their fortunes, and the mercy of an enemy. It is a rough and mountainous countrey, barren of corn, for little or none is ſown there, but very commodious for paſture, the chief riches of the inhabitants conſiſting in cattell. *Montroſe* divides his Army into three Brigades, and ſends

ſends them about the countrey; one Brigade was commanded by the chief of the *Mac-renalds*, another by *Mac-donel*, and the third by himſelf. They range about all the country, and lay it waſte; as many as they find in armes going to the Rendezvouz appointed by their Lord they ſlay, and ſpare no man that was fit for War: nor doe they give over till they had driven all ſerviceable men out of that Territory, or at leaſt into holes knowne to none but themſelves. Then they fire the villages and Cottes, and lay them levell with the ground: in that retaliating *Argile* with the ſame meaſure he had meeted unto others, who was the firſt in all the Kingdome that proſecuted his Country-men with fire and ſword. Laſtly, they drive their cattell. Nor did they deal more gently with others, who lived in *Lorn*, and the neighbour parts, that acknowledged *Argile's* power. Theſe things laſted from the 13. of *December* 1644. to the 28. or 29. of *January* following.

And indeed, he uſed never more to acknowledge the ſingular providence and fatherly mercy of Almighty God, then in bringing him and his men ſafe out of thoſe places; for if but two hundred Soulders had handſomly kept thoſe Paſſes, they might eaſily either have cut off, or at leaſt driven back all his Forces. Beſides, if the Cow-herds had but driven away their cattell (which they might eaſily have done) in thoſe barren places he muſt have ſtarved for hunger. Or thirdly, if it had been a ſharp and ſtormy winter, (and it ſeldome chances to be other-

wiſe there) they had either been drowned in ſnow-drifts, or ſtarv'd and benumb'd with cold. But mercifull God took away both courage from the enemy, and its ordinary temper from the air; and ſupplyed their want of bread with great abundance of fleſh. At length departing out of *Argyle*, and paſſing through *Lorn*, *Glencow*, and *Aber*, he came to *Loch-Neſſe*. And now he expected that all the Highlanders being either frighted with the example of *Argile*, or freed from the fear of him, ſhould be ready to aſſiſt the Kings moſt righteous cauſe, and vindicate it with their armes againſt the Rebells.

But now leaſt *Montroſe's* heroicall ſpirit ſhould ever want matter to work upon, he is advertiſed that the Earl of *Seafort*, a very powerfull man in thoſe parts (and one of whom he had entertained a better opinion) with the Garriſon of *Innerneſſe* which were old ſouldiers, and the whole ſtrength of *Murray*, *Roſſe*, *Sutherland*, *Cathnes*, and the ſept of the *Fraſers*, were ready to meet him with a deſperate army of five thouſand Horſe and Foot. *Montroſe* had only fifteen hundred, for thoſe of *Clanrenald*, and moſt of the *Athole*-men ſuſpecting no ſuch need of them and being laden with the ſpoils of *Argyle* had got leave to goe home on condition they ſhould return when they were ſent for. But for all that *Montroſe* was not afraid to give battell to that diſorderly Army: for although he knew thoſe of the Garriſon to be old ſouldiers, yet he accounted of the reſt of the multitude (which were newly raiſed

out

out of Husbandmen, Cow-herds, Pedees, Taverne-boyes, and Kitchin-boyes) to be altogether raw and unſerviceable.

And now while he thought of nothing but fighting theſe, a truſty Meſſenger overtakes him, and informs him, that *Argyle* having gathered forces out of the lower parts of the Kingdom, and joyned unto them ſuch Highlanders as yet adhered unto him, had come down into *Aber* with three thouſand Foot, and ſtaid at an old caſtle called *Innerlogh* upon the bank of *Logh-Aber*. *Montroſe* who well underſtood the crafty and cowardly diſpoſition of *Argyle*, by that had a good gueſſe at his deſigne; which was to follow after him at a good diſtance, that he might be firſt engaged with thoſe Northern men, and then to make his own advantage of the event of that battell; but by no means to fight himſelf if he could help it. Therefore *Montroſe* conſidered that it would be a matter of greater concernment and of leſſe danger, to let men ſee that *Argyle* was not invincible even in the Highlands, where he was adored by the ſimple people like ſome great-little god: and as for the Northern Army he conceived that upon the report of a Victory obtained againſt *Argyle*, it would moulder away and eaſily be brought into order. *Montroſe* was thirty miles abſent from *Innerlogh*, neither would he goe the high way thither (though he placed guards in it leſt the enemy ſhould have any intelligence of his moving) but ſtreight over *Logh-Aber* hills, in untroden paths and only known to Cow-

herds and Hunt-men, for in thoſe mountains there are great herds of Deer) by a way that never man led an Army before; and killing their Scouts, was upon the the back of the enemy ere he was aware. They being but little affrighted with ſo unexpected an accident run to their arms, and immediately prepare themſelves for battel'. When *Montroſe* perceived them to be in a poſture ſo quickly, he ſtood ſtill a little while till his Rear being tired with ſo hard a march could come up unto his Front. It was night, but the Moon-ſhone ſo clearly that it was almoſt as light as day; all night they ſtood to their arms, and making frequent ſallies and skirmiſhes one with another, neither gave the other leave to reſt or retreat. All others earneſtly expected day only *Argyle* being more adviſed then the reſt conveyed himſelf away at dead of the night; and this ſecond time taking boat ſaved himſelf from the perill of battell, as if he intended to be Umpire between the two Armies, and being himſelf out of gun-ſhot ſtand ſpectatour of other mens valour, and well too. At the break of day, *Montroſe* ordered his men as he intended to fight, and the enemy were as forward to doe the like. For they did not yet think that *Montroſe* was there (as ſome priſoners afterwards confeſſed) but ſome Collonel or Captain of his with a party only of his forces.

When the Sun was up on the ſecond of *February* (which is *Candelmas* day) a trumpet ſounding ſtruck no ſmall terrour into the enemy. For beſides that a trumpet ſhewed they had Horſe with them,

and

and therefore was a ſound with which thoſe parts were little acquainted, it diſcovered alſo that *Mortroſe* himſelf was there. Nevertheleſſe the prime of the *Campbells* (that's the ſirname of *Argyle*'s family) being gallant men and ſtout, and deſerving to fight under a better Chieftain in a better cauſe, cheerfully begin the battell. But their ſouldiers that were in the Front having only once diſcharged their muſkets, and *Monroſe*'s men preſſing on fiercely to come to the dint of ſword began to run. Whom they raiſing a great ſhout, ſo eagerly purſued, that as it were at one aſſault they routed them all; and had the killing of them with a moſt horrible ſlaughter for nine miles together. Of the enemy were ſlain fifteen hundred, among whom were very many Gentlemen of the *Campbells*, who were chief men of the family, and of good account in their country, who fighting but too valiantly for their Chieftain, had deaths anſwerable to their names, and fell in *Campo belli*, in the Field of War, (*I cannot ſay the bed of Honour.*) Their fortune *Montroſe* extreamly lamented, and ſaved as many of them as he was able, taking them into his protection; whiles *Argyle* himſelf being gotten into a boat and rowed a little way off the ſhore, ſecurely look't on whiles his kindred and ſouldiers were knockt in the head. Some Colonels and Captains that *Argyle* had brought thither out of the Lowlands fled into the caſtle; whom when the caſtle was ſurrendred, and quarter was given unto them, *Montroſe* uſed courteouſly; and after he had done them

ſeverall good offices of humanity and charity, freely let them depart. In this fight *Montroſe* had many wounded, but none ſlain ſaving three private ſouldiers; but the joy of this great victory was much abated by the wounds of that truly honourable Sir *Thomas Ogleby*, Sonne to the Earle of *Airley*, of which after a few dayes he dyed. He was one of *Montroſe*'s deareſt friends; one who had done very good ſervice for the King in *England* under the Command of his Father-inlaw the Lord *Ruthien* Earle of *Forth* and *Branceford*, (a man known all the world over for his noble atchievements.) Nor was he leſſe a ſcholler then a ſouldier, being a new ornament to the family of the *Oglebyes*, whoſe honourable deaths-wounds for his King and Country had no ſmall influence upon that dayes victory. *Montroſe* being very much afflicted with the loſſe of him, cauſeth his body to be carried into *Athole*, where he was interred with as ſumptuous a funerall as that place and thoſe times could afford. But the power of the *Campbells* in the *Highlands*, which for theſe many ages paſt hath been formidable to their neighbours, was by this overthrow clearly broken to pieces; and by it alſo a way opened unto *Montroſe* to doe his buſineſſe the more eaſily thence forward. For the Highlanders being warlike men, and let looſe from the hated tyranny of *Argyle*, now began to offer themſelves willingly unto the Kings ſervice.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

THe ſouldier who was almoſt ſpent with this ſore travell, having refreſhed himſelf for a few dayes, *Montroſe* meaſuring over againe *Logh-Aber* hills returneth to *Logh-Neſſe*. And from thence viewing by the way the coaſts of *Harrick*, *Arne*, and *Narne*, came to the river of *Spey*. Here he is told, that there was no ſmall party of the enemy at *Elgin*, (which is the chief town of *Murray*, a Country beyond the *Spey*.) *Montroſe* hies towards theſe, either to draw them to his ſide or to ſuppreſſe them: but the very report of his advancing blew away that cloud, for they in great amazement ſhifted for themſelves every one whither he could. *Montroſe* nevertheleſſe goes on his march, and takes in *Elgin* by ſurrender on the fourteenth day of *February*. At which time the Lord *Gordon*, eldeſt Sonne to the Marqueſſe of *Huntley*, (a man who can never be ſufficiently commended for his excellent endowments) came off openly to the Kings ſide (from his uncle by whom he had been detained againſt his will) and, with not many but very choiſe friends and clients, voluntarily did his duty, and offered his ſervice to *Montroſe* as the Kings Deputy and Vicegerent. *Montroſe* firſt welcomed him with all civility, and gave him many thanks; afterwards when he came to underſtand him more inwardly, joyned him unto himſelf in the entireſt bonds of friendſhip and af-

fection. Now becauſe the inhabitants of *Murray* were extreamly addicted to the Covenanters, they hid themſelves in their lurking places, nor were any ſupplies to be expected from men ſo maliciouſly diſpoſed; Therefore he drew his Forces to this ſide the *Spey*, to raiſe the Countries of *Bamph* and *Aberdene* by the preſence, example, and authority of the Lord *Gordon*. So having got together what forces he could in thoſe places, with two thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe, paſſing the river of *Dee* he came into *Marne*, and encamped not farre from *Fettercarne*.

At *Brechin* ſome ſeven miles from thence, Sir *John Hurray*, a ſtout man and an active, and famous alſo in forraigne parts for Military exploits, being Generall of the Horſe for the Covenanters, had the Command over the whole Forces there. He came out with ſix hundred Horſe to diſcover the ſtrength of *Montroſe*: he conceived *Montroſe* had but very few Foot and no Horſe, and if he ſhould but deſcend into the plain, he made account to make ſhort work with him; and howſoever it ſhould happen, he made no queſtion but to ſecure himſelf. *Montroſe* to draw him on, hid the reſt of his men in a bottome, and made ſhew only of his two hundred horſe, but lined them (as he uſed) with his nimbleſt Muſquetiers. Which Horſe when *Hurrey* ſaw, and obſerved they were ſo few, he drew up his men and charged. But when he perceived (too late) the Foot that ran cloſe after *Montroſe*'s Horſe, he ſounded a retreat,

retreat, and *Hurrey* himſelf turning his men before him behaved himſelf ſtoutly in the rear. When they turned their backs *Montroſe*'s ſouldiers drive on, let fly, and lay about them, untill being got over the river of *Eske*, the enemy ſcarce ſafe under the protection of Night, betook themſelves to ſhelter: nor did they think themſelves ſecure till after a race of four and twenty miles long they came to *Dundee*. Then they that had purſued them ſo far returned to *Fethercarne*, and thence the next day to *Brechin*. Here *Montroſe* underſtood, that *Baily* a Commander of great account had been fetched out of *England*, to be Generall of the enemies Forces; that *Hurrey* with his Horſe was joyned unto him, and that they had in their Army many old ſouldiers brought back out of *England* and *Ireland*; ſo that now the Covenanters going about their buſineſſe in ſo great ſadneſſe, *Montroſe* muſt expect not only other kind of ſouldiers, but alſo moſt expert Commanders to deal with.

Therefore, leſt he ſhould chance to be hemb'd in with their Horſe (in which their chief ſtrength lay) he chuſeth his moſt convenient way by the foote of *Grainsbaine* towards the river of *Tay*; intending alſo if it were poſſible to get over the *Forth*, where he believed the King could not want aſſiſtance. Which deſigne of his was not unknown to the enemy: therefore they ſend theſe Commanders againſt him with a powerfull Army; who no ſooner came in ſight then *Montroſe* offered them battell. But they intended nothing leſſe then to try it out with him that way, nor

nor would adventure ſo much as but to fall upon the rear of *Montroſe* as he marched off. So he went to the caſtle of *Innercarity*, and the next day to a village called *Eliot*. And here again leaving the mountains behind him he deſcends into the plain, and by a Trumpet ſends a challenge unto *Baily* to fight. Between their two Armies ran the river *Ile*, which neither could ſafely paſſe over without the others conſent. *Montroſe* therefore deſires *Baily* to give him leave ſafely to come over to that ſide which motion if *Baily* ſhould not like of. he offered him a ſafe and free paſſage, on condition, that he would engage his honour to fight without further delay. *Baily* anſwered, he would look to his own buſineſſe himſelf, and would not have other men teach him when to fight. Thus the two armies fac't one another many dayes neither the enemy endeavouring to paſſe their Forces over the river againſt *Montroſe*, nor he hoping to make good his paſſe unto them by reaſon of his ſcarcity of Horſe. Marching therefore to *Dunkeldon*, he thought to paſſe the *Tay*, at which time by a ſudden and unexpected miſchief he was almoſt utterly ruined. It was thus, *Lewis Gordon* Sonne to Marqueſſe *Huntly* who had born arms againſt *Montroſe* in the battell of *Aberdene*, by the mediation of his noble brother the Lord *Gordon* had bin received into favour. He either by true or counterfeit letters from the old fox in the hole, his father, tempted and carried away with him almoſt all the *Gordons* without the knowledge of his brother; and baſely deſerted *Montroſe* and him, when

they

they were ready to be engaged with the enemy. And truly it is hard to ſay to whether of both he bore leſſe good will.

Montroſe being ſore afflicted with this unexpected revolt, although he was of neceſſity to returne into the North to gather new Forces, yet made as if nevertheleſſe he went ſtraight towards the *Forth*; and his ſcouts came all with full cry, that all the enemy were got over the *Tay*, that by taking the fords of the *Forth* they might hinder his paſſage. He, leſt he ſhould ſeeme all this while to have done nothing, thought it well worth his labour, if by the way he could take in *Dundee*, a moſt ſeditious town; for that being the ſecureſt haunt and receptacle of the Rebels in thoſe parts, and a place that had contributed as much as any other towards the Rebellion, was kept by no other garriſon but of the Townſmen. He therefore commanded the weakeſt and worſt armed men to goe along by the bottome of the hills and to meet him at *Brechin*: and he taking with him what Horſe he had (which were but one hundred and fifty in all) and ſix hundred nimble muſquetiers, departing from *Dunkelden* about twelve of the clock in the night, made ſo great haſte that he came to *Dundee* by ten of the clock in the morning on the fourth day of *Aprill*. He ſummons the Townſmen to deliver the Town to the King, which was the only way to preſerve their own lives and its ſafety; if they would not they muſt expect fire and ſword. They began to make delayes, and firſt to give no anſwer at all,

all, afterward to commit the Trumpet to priſon. Which affront provoked *Montroſe* ſo highly, that hee ſtormed the Towne in three places at once: The Townſmen ſtood out a while and maintained their works, but they had as good have done nothing, for the Iriſh and Highlanders would take no repulſe, but with a reſolute aſſault ſome beat them out of their ſconces, and poſſeſſing themſelves of their ordnance turned it againſt the Town; others beat open the gates, and poſſeſſe themſelves of the Church and Market-place, and others ſet the Town on fire in ſeverall places. And indeed had not the common ſouldiers by an unſeaſonable avarice and intemperance addicted themſelves to pillage that rich Town had been immediately all on fire. But as it happened it was better both for the conquerours and the conquered that it was not, for all the intelligence that the Scouts had brought in concerning the enemies coming over the *Tay* was abſolutely falſe: it may be they ſaw a few Troops (and many they did not ſee) paſſe over it, which they beleeved to have been the whole body of the enemy, and by that means were like to have undone both themſelves and the whole party.

Montroſe ſtood upon the top of a hill cloſe unto *Dundee* looking upon this onſlaught, when his almoſt breathleſſe Scouts brought him news that *Baily* and *Hurrey* with three thouſand Foot and eight hundred Horſe were ſcarce a mile off. He immediately calls his men out of the Town, which he had much

much to doe to perſwade them; for the ſouldiers counting themſelves ſecure of the victory, and thinking they had done a good dayes work already, and beſides being a little heated in drink, and much taken with ſo rich a booty, could hardly be brought to leave the Town they had ſo newly taken. And truly before they could be beaten off from the ſpoile, the enemy was come within musket-ſhot of them. And now (as it uſes to happen in great dangers) *Montroſe*'s counſell of War were of different opinions; ſome perſwaded that *Montroſe* ſhould ſhift for himſelf with the Horſe he had, becauſe they conceived it not poſſible that he ſhould be able to bring off the Foot, who had been wearied with a march of above twenty miles in the morning, after that, were ſpent in a hot fight at noon, and now were over-loaden either with drink or prey; eſpecially ſeeing he was to march twenty or perhaps thirty miles from *Dundee* before they could reſt in ſafety. That this was the fortune of War, and to be patiently undergone, eſpecially ſince he had given oft-times far greater overthrowes to the enemy then this could be to him. That there was no doubt, but that as long as he was ſafe, his Forces might be eaſily recruited; and on the other ſide if he miſcaried, the caſe was deſperate: and they were utterly undone. Others cryed out, that all was loſt already, and there was nothing left them but to die with honour; and therefore if charging courageouſly they ſhould break in amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy, no one could ſay but that they fell

gallantly.

gallantly. *Montroſe* concurred with neither of theſe; for he could never be brought to forſake ſo good men as he had in the extreameſt danger. and preferred an honourable death among his ſouldiers before diſhonourable ſafety. But for all that, for men that were ſo much out-numbred by them to run deſperately upon the enemy, and as it were to daſh out their own brains againſt the ſtones, was the very laſt refuge, and not haſtily to be made uſe of; therefore as we ought not to tempt Almighty God by our own wretchleſneſſe and negligence, ſo neither ought any valiant man or good Chriſtian deſpair of his aſſiſtance in a juſt cauſe. Laſtly, he exhorts every one to do his own part and referre the ſucceſſe to God, and other things to his own care and induſtry.

Immediately he ſends out four hundred Foot before him, and commands them, that as much as they poſſibly could without breaking their ranks they ſhould make all ſpeed. Then he appoints two hundred of the activeſt men he had to follow them; and he with his Horſe brings up the Rear. The Horſe trooped on in ſo open order, that if occaſion were they might have roome enough to receive light muſquetiers, He believed the enemies Foot were not able to overtake them; and if their Horſe only ſhould charge them (which they would hardly adventure to doe) he conceived it was no matter of extreame difficulty to make their part good againſt them: beſides the Sun was ready to ſet. and the darkneſſe of the night would be commodious for their retreat.

The

The enemy understanding the number of them that went away first by some prisoners they had taken, and after that by their own view, assoon as they saw they were disposed rather for a journey than a battell, divide their Forces into two parts and so pursue them. Wherein their intention was not only to fall upon their Rear and Flank at once, but also to secure against them all passages up to the Highlands: And their Commanders the more to encourage their Souldiers to a hot pursuit, proposed twenty thousand Crownes to any one that could bring in *Montrose*'s head. And now the Van of the enemies Horse began to close up unto the retreaters, whereupon those good musquetiers that lined *Montrose*'s Horse welcomed one and another, and another of the forwardest of them with bullets in their sides; with whose mischance the rest becoming more wary, abated of the eagernesse of their pursuit. And *Montrose*'s souldiers when they saw they had been too hard for the enemies Foot at a march, and had got before them, taking heart and courage they skirmished stoutly with their Horse, untill the night parted the quarrell. And to rid themselves some way of the enemy, took their way East-ward many miles by the sea-coast. However that was not their way, but to goe Northward toward *Gransbaine*, and so to deliver themselves from their mischievous Horse. But *Baily* had laid the greatest part of his Army between them and *Gransbaine* that there might be no place for them to retreat unto.

Therefore

Therefore at the dead of the night when they were not far from *Aberbroth*, *Montroſe* commands his men to make a ſtand a while. And long they ſtood not, before he conſidering with himſelf that all ways and paſſages ſtraight into the Mountains might be laid by the enemies Horſe (and he was not miſtaken,) commands them to face about, and march South-weſt. And by this art (though with intolerable pains) he beguiled the Purſuers, whom that ſame night he paſſed by; and then turning Northward, by the next morning at Sunriſing paſſed over *South-Eske* at a place not far from *Careſton* caſtle: and from thence ſent to *Brechin* to fetch thoſe men which he had there with the Carriages. But that had not needed, for they upon the report of this expedition had provided for themſelves better and more timely, and had taken the Mountains. Whiles he ſtaid at *Careſton*, the Scouts brought him word on a ſudden that the enemies Horſe were in ſight, and their Foot being refreſh't with victualls and ſleep march't after them apace. *Montroſe* himſelfe being now within three miles of the Mountains was not much afraid of them, but his ſouldiers who had not ſlept for three dayes and two nights, but had all that while been either on their march, or in fight, were overcome with ſo dead ſleep that they could hardly be raiſed without pricks and wounds. The enemy being at laſt entertained with a light skirmiſh, ſuffered *Montroſe* to poſſeſſe himſelf of the bottome of the Mountains, and having done nothing to the purpoſe

retreated

retreated from their vain purſuit. So he and his men came to *Gleneske*.

And this was that ſo much talk'd of Expedition of *Dundee*, infamous indeed for the miſtake of the Scouts, but as renowned as any for the valour, conſtancy, and undaunted reſolution of the Generall: and even admirable for the hardineſſe of the Souldier in encountring all extremities with patience, for for threeſcore miles together they had been often in fight, alwayes upon their march, without either meat, or ſleep, or the leaſt refreſhment. Which whether forraigne Nations or after times will beleeve I cannot tell, but I am ſure I deliver nothing but what is moſt certain of mine owne knowledge. And truly amongſt expert Souldiers, and thoſe of eminent note both in *England*, *Germany*, and *France*, I have not seldome heard this Expedition of his preferred before *Montroſe*'s greateſt victories.

CHAP. X.

AND now being ſafe beyond expectation, *Montroſe* bids the ſouldiers take their reſt, whiles he determines thus of the whole affaire of the War. He ſends the Lord *Gordon*, together with thoſe that had continued loyall and dutifull after the revolt of his brother *Lewis* into their own Country, both that they might recall thoſe whom his brother had ſeduced away, and recruit themſelves by levying new forces. Which he cheerfully and courage-

ously performed, and though he spared none, yet he was most severe with those that had been authours or accessaries to his brothers defection: and he was the more active in that businesse, that he might acquit himself of any suspition. Nor indeed did *Montrose* himself or any other more detest that villany of *Lewis Gordon*, then that noble Lord his brother. As for *Montrose*, he with a small party (for he kept but five hundred Foot and fifty Horse with him) marches through *Angus* into *Perthshire*, that he might distract the enemy till such time as he made up his Army with recruits from every side. Neither was he out in his aime, for the Covenanters had sent *Hurrey* the Lieutenant Generall of the Horse, with a Command into the North, of a party of six hundred old Foot, and two hundred Horse; that he might strengthen their own side, and suppresse the Lord *Gordon*. And *Baily* himself staid with an Army at *Perth*, as in the very heart of the Kingdome, ready to wait upon all motions. *Montrose* was twelve miles off at a village called *Kreif*, where *Baily* understood he quartered securely with a very small party: who being diligent upon all occasions, set out from *Perth* at the beginning of the night with all his Army, that by a speedy march he might at break of day fall unexpected into *Montrose*'s quarters. But he found *Montrose* carefull enough of his businesse, and his Foot ready in armes either to march or fight; but he with his Horse came up towards the enemy to discover their number and strength. And when he found

so nd theih to be two thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, he commanded his men to march speedily away, and following the course of the river *Erne* to make good the fords thereof: he with the few Horse that he had was their Rear-guard, lest they should have been trodden in pieces by the enemies Cavalry, And truly he so valiantly repulsed the fierce assault of the enemy that by killing some and routing others, he forced them to a retreat, till at last his Foot after six miles march had made themselves Masters of the passes of *Erne*. So the enemy retreated with the losse of their labour, and *Montrose* that same night being the eighteen of *April*, quartered at *Loh-Erne*, and came the next day to *Balwider*, where the Earle of *Aboine* met him, who with some few more had escaped out of *Carlisle*, and hearing tydings of *Montrose*'s good successe, had at last returned into his Country.

Leaving *Balwidir* they advanced to *Logh-Catrinet*, where they receive intelligence that *Hurrey* had raised great forces in the North, and was ready to engage with the Lord *Gordon*; and therefore there was danger that he being an active Souldier and a good Commander should be able to over-master that gallant young Gentleman. Therefore *Montrose* thought it necessary to oppose *Hurrey* assoon as was possible, as well to secure so deare a friend from imminent danger, as to be nibbling at the enemies Forces as he found them asunder, and to cut off that power by peace-meal which he well knew if it were

all in a body would be above his match. Therefore by long and continued journeys passing by *Balwidir*, and a Lake of foure and twenty miles long, out of which the river of *Tay* breaks forth, through *Athole* and *Angus*, and over *Gransbaine*, through a vale called *Glenmuck*, he came to the midst of *Marre*. There he joyned with the Lord *Gordon*, who had now a thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, and marching straight to the *Spey*, laboured to find out and engage with the enemy. Nor was he above six miles off when *Hurrey* thought he had not yet got over *Gransbaine*, for with unwearied labour and incredible speed he had over-run the very report of himself. *Hurrey*, lest a battell should be forced upon him whether he would or no, before he had received an addition of numerous Auxiliaries, in all hast passeth over the *Spey*. And because he had appointed the Rendezvouz of all his friends at *Innernesse*, hyeth to *Elgin*; nor did *Montrose* pursue him lazily to *Elgine*. Thence with all speed he passeth to *Forresse*, nor did *Montrose* make lesse haste to follow and overtake him too at *Forresse*, and sat so close on his skirts for fourteen miles together, that notwithstanding he had the advantage of the night, he had much adoe to reach *Innernesse*.

The next day *Montrose* incamped at a village called *Alderne*: and *Hurrey* according to his hopes found the Earls of *Seafort* and *Suderland*, the whole sept of the *Frasers*, and most of *Murray* and *Cathnesse*, and the neighbouring parts to have assembled themselves

themſelves to *Innerneſſe* well appointed. To theſe *Hurrey* ads ſome old ſouldiers of the Garriſon of that Town and ſo draws up againſt *Montroſe*. He now cómanded three thouſand and five hundred foot, and four hundred Horſe; but *Montroſe* (who had no more but fifteen hundred Foot and two hundred Horſe) had a great mind to retire. But not only *Hurrey* preſſed ſo vehemently upon him, that it was ſcarce poſſible for him to retreat, but *Baily* alſo with a Southerne Army much ſtronger then *Hurrey's* (eſpecially in Horſe) was now got already a great way on that ſide *Gransbaine*, and marched in great haſt towards the *Spey*. What ſhould *Montroſe* doe in this condition? He muſt of neceſſity either give *Hurrey* battell, or undergoe a far greater hazard of being hemb'd in between two Armies. Therefore he reſolves to try the fortune of War without delay, to commit the ſucceſſe unto God, and chuſing the beſt advantage of ground he could find, there to expect the aſſault of the enemy. There was a little Towne that ſtood upon the height which ſhadowed the neighbouring valley; and ſome little hills that were higher then the Towne behind it, that hindered the diſcovery of any one till they were juſt upon him. In this valley he drawes up his Forces out of the view of the enemy. Before the Towne he places a few but expert and choice Foot with his Ordnance, who were ſheltered with ſuch ditches as they found there. The right wing he commits to *Alexander Macdonell* with four hundred Foot, and lodged them in

places fortified to their hand with banks and ditches, with ſhrubs alſo and great ſtones: and commands him to preſerve himſelf entire, that he might be a reſerve upon all occaſions, and not to depart from his ſtation which had ſo good a naturall fence, that they might lie there ſafe enough not only from the enemies Horſe but Foot alſo. And with the ſame good advice, he committed to his charge that notable Standard of the Kings, which only he was wont to carry before him; expecting that the enemy upon the ſight of that would order the beſt of their Forces againſt that wing, which by reaſon of the diſadvantage of the place would be rendred wholly unuſefull unto them, till ſuch time as he on the flank ſhould take his beſt advantage againſt them. And to that end drawing the reſt of his Forces to the other ſide, he commends the Horſe to the Lord *Gordan*, and takes charge of the Foot himſelf. Thoſe few that ſtood before the Town under the ſhelter and covert of the banks and ditches ſeemed as if they were his maine battel, whereas indeed he had none. And for Reſerves, in that ſcarcity of men they were not to be thought of.

The enemy (as *Montroſe* moſt wiſely foreſaw) aſſoone as they ſaw the Kings Standard ordered the moſt part of their Horſe and old Souldiers (wherein their chiefe ſtrength conſiſted) againſt that. And by this time the Van of the enemy began to diſpute it with thoſe before the town and on the right flank, and ſtill as their Souldiers were ſpent drew up freſh men; which *Montroſe* becauſe his number was but few could

could not ſo eaſily doe: therefore he reſolved with all his men that he had on the left flank, to make a violent aſſault upon the enemy at once. And whiles he was thinking ſo to doe, there comes unto him one whom he knew to be truſty and diſcreet, and whiſpers him in the ear that *Mac-donell* with his men on the right flank were put to flight. He being a man of a quick ſpirit, thought it was beſt to forestall the Souldiers left their hearts ſhould faile them upon bad newes, and cryes aloud to the Lord *Gordon*, *My Lord, what doe we doe?* Mac-donell *upon the right hand having routed and diſcomfited the enemy is upon the execution; ſhall wee ſtand by as idle ſpectatours whiles he carries away the honour of the day?* And with that he commands them to charge. *Hurrey's* Horſe had no minde long to endure the ſhock of the *Gordons* but wheeling about and beginning to run, left their flanks (which they were to maintaine) open to their enemies. Their Foote, although thus deſerted by their Horſe, being both more in number and better armed then *Montroſe's* men, ſtood out very ſtoutly as long as his men kept aloofe; but aſſoone as he came to fall upon them hand to hand, he drove them to throw away their arms, and to ſeek, though to little purpoſe, to ſave themſelves by their heels. But *Montroſe* himſelfe, not forgetting what was ſignified unto him by ſo faithfull a meſſenger, drew off with a few of his readieſt men unto the right flank, where he found things in a far other condition then they were left.

For *Mac-donell* being a valiant man, but better at his hands then head, (being over-haſty in battel, and bold even to raſhneſſe) diſdaining to ſhelter himſelf behind hedges and ſhrubs whiles the enemy vapoured and provoked him with ill language, contrary to orders, upon his own head advanceth towards the enemy out of that moſt defencible faſtneſſe and ſtation wherein he was placed. And he did it to his coſt, for the enemy over-powring him both in Horſe and Foot, and having many old ſouldiers amongſt them, routed and repulſed his men, And certainly if he had not timely drawne them off into a cloſe hard by, they had every one of them together with the Kings Standard been loſt. But he made amends for that raſh miſtake in his admirable courage in bringing off his men, for he was the laſt man that came off, and covering his body with a great target which he carried in his left hand, defended himſelf againſt the thickeſt of his enemies. Thoſe that came cloſeſt up unto him were Pike-men, who with many a blow had ſtruck their ſpear-heads into his target, which he cut off by three or foure at once with his ſword which he managed with his right hand. And thoſe that made him any oppoſition in the cloſe, ſeeing *Montroſe* come in to his aid, and their owne men on the other ſide put to flight, ſuch as were Horſe ſpur'd away, and the Foote (moſt of which were old Souldiers out of *Ireland*) fighting deſperately, were almoſt all of them ſlain upon the ground. The Conqerors purſued them that fled for ſome

miles;

miles; ſo that there were ſlain about three thouſand Foot of the enemy, amongſt whom their old ſouldiers fought moſt ſtoutly; but almoſt all their Horſe eſcaped by a more timely then honourable flight.

Nor had *Hurrey* himſelf with ſome of their beſt men which went laſt off the field eſcaped the hands of the purſuers, had not the Earle of *Aboine* by I know not what want of heed, diſplayed ſome Enſignes and Standards that had been taken from the enemy; and himſelf not following the chaſe but turning towards his owne party, ſeemed to have been the enemy, and to threaten a new battell. With which miſtake they were ſo long deluded, untill the enemies Horſe, though much diſordered, had ſhifted themſelves away into ſuch by-paths as they knew or could light upon: only a few of them came with *Hurrey* before next morning to *Innerneſſe*. Of ſuch of the enemy as were ſlain, the moſt notable were *Cambell Laver* a Collonel of old Souldiers, Sir *Iohn* and Sir *Gideon Murray* Knights, and other ſtout men, and perhaps not unworthy to be lamented, had they not ſtained their otherwiſe commendable valour with the horrid crime of Rebellion; nor in that did they ſo much follow their own judgements as the humour of the times, or the ambition, or avarice of their Chiefs. *Montroſe* of thoſe that ſerved with him on the left flank miſſed only one man, and him a private ſouldier; and on that ſide where *Mac-donell* commanded, there were miſſing fourteen private ſouldiers alſo. But he had many more wounded,

wounded, the curing and ſecuring of whom was eſpecially provided for by *Montroſe*. Afterwards entertaining the priſoners with ſweetneſſe and courteſie, he promiſed all ſuch as repented of their errour, liberty or employment, and was as good as his word, and ſuch as were obſtinate in their rebellion he diſpoſed of into ſeverall priſons. In this battell at *Alderne* the valour of young *Napier* did vey much diſcover it ſelf; who being the ſon of the Lord *Napier* of *Marchiſton*, and *Montroſe*'s nephew by his ſiſter, had but a little before without the knowledge of his father, or wife, ſtoln away from *Edinburgh* to his uncle and did at this time give an excellent aſſay of his valour, and laid down moſt firme principles of a moſt noble diſpoſition. Whereupon the chief of the Covenanters took his father a man almoſt threeſcore and ten years old (and as good a man as ever *Scotland* bred in this age,) and his wife, the daughter of the Earl of *Marre*, Sir *Sterling Keer* his brother-inlaw (an excellent man alſo, chief of his family, and one that had ſuffered very much for his Loyalty) together with his two ſiſters, the one Sir *Sterlings* moſt vertuous Lady, the other a virgin and caſt them all into the dungeon; from whence afterward they were to be delivered by *Napier* himſelfe with the aſſiſtance of his uncle. This battell was fought at *Alderne* on the 4. of *May*, 1645.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Montroſe allowing a few dayes of refreſhment to his Souldiers, marched to *Elgin* which is the chiefe Towne of the Province; where for the ſake of thoſe that were wounded, he made ſome longer ſtay, becauſe they had there the accommodation of good Chyrurgeons and medicines, which are ſometimes ſcarce to be had in the field. Afterward paſſing over the *Spey* he came to *Keith*, from thence to *Frendracht*, and ſo to *Strathbogy*. Here *Baily* meets him (unto whom *Hurrey* with thoſe that remained of his broken Troops at *Alderne* was joyned) and provokes him to battell. *Montroſe* kept back his men, who were ſpent with great travaile, and were far fewer both in Horſe and Foot, though very eager to fight, til ſuch time as he had raiſed new forces, and recruited them. Therefore thinking it enough to maintaine that ground which he had choſen as commodiouſly as he could for himſelf untill night, paſſeth then to *Balveny*, whither alſo the enemy followeth him: but he paſſing by *Strath-Done* and *Strath-Spey*, went up to *Badenoth*. The enemy getting to the other ſide of the water provokes him againe to fight; but in vain, for he was very wary of giving them a ſet battell, but nevertheleſſe by frequent skirmiſhes, and eſpecially beating up quarters in the night, did ſo much weaken their power and courage, that they that were ſo haughtily daring but a while ago, as well

Commanders

Commanders as Souldiers, haſtily and diſorderly betooke themſelves by night to *Innerneſſe* when none purſued them. *Montroſe* was not much diſpleaſed that he was ſo rid of this enemy, eſpecially for this reaſon; the Earle of *Lindſey*, the prime ringleader of the Covenanters next unto *Argyle*, and his rivall too (as being brother-in-law to Duke *Hamilton*) uſed to give out, that *Argyle* wanted either care or courage; and howſoever it came to paſſe, was ſtill unfortunate. And therefore he took upon himſelf the command of that Army which was newly raiſed, as if he would aſſay to manage the buſineſſe with better conduct. And now he had paſſed over with his forces into *Angus*, intending to be a Reſerve unto *Baily*; and if any thing ſhould happen otherwiſe then well, at the worſt he was ready to hinder *Montroſe*'s paſſage over *Forth*. For they were alwayes very jealous leſt *Montroſe* ſhould remove the ſeat of Warre to this ſide the *Forth*, and nearer *Edinburgh*. Therefore he reſolved with all ſpeed to quell *Lindſey* (who lay yet in *Angus* at a Caſtle called *Newtill*) both becauſe the Generall was no ſouldier, and the ſouldiers raw, and unacquainted with the hardſhip of War.

In purſuit of which deſigne, departing from *Badenoth* he marcheth through the plains of *Marre* over *Gransbaine* and came by long and painfull journies unto the coaſt of the river of *Airley*, intending to ſurpriſe the enemy on a ſudden: which was eaſie to be done, for he had made ſuch haſt, that the news of his approach

approach was not ſo ſwift as himſelf. And now *Lindſey* was not above ſeven miles from him, and all things were ready for an aſſault when (upon what occaſion it is uncertain) almoſt all the Northerne men privately ran away from their colours; and going back the way that they came, returne into their Country. The Lord *Gordon* was in the Camp, and there was none there that deteſted that villany with greater indignation then he, in ſo much that *Montroſe* had much adoe to with-hold him from putting ſuch of the fugitives to death as had any dependance upon him. Some ſtick not to ſay, that theſe men were inveigled away by the private directions of his father the Marqueſſe of *Huntley* to the Earl of *Aboine*, who by reaſon of his ſickneſſe was abſent. For it vext *Huntley*, a haughty and envious man, to heare of the ſucceſſe of *Montroſe*; nor could he endure that inward friendſhip which was between his eldeſt ſon and him. However it was, *Montroſe* being caſt down with this unexpected misfortune, was forced to put off that Expedition againſt *Lindſey*, and to ſuffer patiently ſo great and eaſie a victory to be taken out of his hands.

Therefore taking up new reſolutions, he followeth after Collonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, a valiant man and a truſty, and welbeloved in his Country, whom he had ſent before. And by this time *Baily* and *Hurrey* had returned from *Innerneſſe*, and quartered in lower *Marre* by the ſide of *Dee*. And *Montroſe* came by the coaſts of *Eske*, and the plains of *Marre* into the heart of that Country, commonly called *Cromarre*.

Cromarre. And whiles he passed through those plains aforesaid, he dispatched *Mac-donell* with a party into the furthest part of the Highlands, to conduct such Forces as were there raised with all speed unto the Army. Afterward he sent away the Lord *Gordon* himselfe, to hasten and promote that levy of men which *Nathaniel Gordon* was lifting, by all the power and interests he had in those parts. Which he most diligently performed, and amongst others, brought his brother the Earle of *Aboine* back with him. Whilest these things passed in *Cromarre*, *Lindsey* joynes his Forces with *Baily* in lower *Marre*. With whom *Montrose* finding himselfe unable to deal, (the most part of his Forces being gone along with the Lord *Gordon* and *Mac-donel*) he stept aside to the ruinated castle of *Kargarf*, lest the enemy should overlay him on the champaine grounds with their multitudes both of Horse and Foot; but when he was close unto the Mountains he feared them not. From hence *Aboine* falling sick again, betook himself to *Strathbogy*, and upon pretence of a guard, carried along with him a considerable number of Horse, whom his brother the Lord *Gordon* had much adoe afterward to draw back to their colours. In the mean time *Lindsey* tooke a thousand old Souldiers from *Baily*, and gave him as many raw and new rais'd men for them; and as if he intended to doe some famous exploit, returning through *Merne* into *Angus*. With all the pains he took he did only this, he ranged with his Army up and down *Athole* and after

he

he had robbed and ſpoiled all the Countrey, he ſet it on fire. In this imitating *Argyle*, who was the firſt that in this age introduced that cruell and dreadfull preſident of deſtroying houſes and corn: being better at fire then ſword, when they came into empty fields and towns unmann'd.

Baily at that time went to *Bogy*, to beſiege the faireſt caſtle that belonged to the Marqueſſe of *Huntly*, and indeed of all the North; and in caſe he failed to take it in, to waſte and fire all the Country of the *Gordons* thereabouts. *Montroſe* (although *Mac-donel* was abſent with a great party) thought it neceſſary to relieve *Huntley* and his friends, whom he laboured to aſſure unto himſelfe by all good offices, and hied thither. Where having notice that *Baily*'s ſouldiers, though not all yet a great part, were new rais'd men (for he had parted with ſo many old ſouldiers to *Lindſey*) deſired nothing more then without delay to fight him, and marcheth ſtraight towards him. He had not gone above three miles before he diſcovered the enemies Scouts: He therefore ſent before ſome of his readieſt men that knew the wayes to view the ſtrength, the rendezvouz, and the order of the enemy. They immediately bring word, that the Foot ſtood on the top of a hill ſome two miles off; and the Horſe had poſſeſſed themſelves of a narrow and troubleſome paſſe which lay almoſt in the middle betweene the two Armies, and were come on this ſide it. Againſt them *Montroſe* ſent ſuch Horſe as he had in a readineſſe, with ſome nimble

nimble Firelocks, whom they first entertained with light skirmishes afar-off, and after retreated behind the passe, which they had strongly man'd with musquetiers. *Montrose* sends for the Foot, that if it were possible they might dislodge the enemy from thence; but it could not be done, for they were parted by the fall of the night, which both sides passed over, waking and in their arms. The next day *Montrose* sends a Trumpet to offer a set battell, but *Baily* answers, he would not receive order to fight from an enemy. He therefore seeing he could not drive the enemy from those passes without manifest losse and danger, that he might draw him out thence in sometime, marcheth off to *Pithlurge*, and from thence to a Castle of the Lord *Forbeses* called *Druminore*, where he staid two dayes. And at last he understands the enemy had quitted the passes, and was marching toward *Strathbogy*; so he at breake of day sets forth towards a village called *Alford*. But *Baily* when he had gotten certaine notice that *Mac-donel* with a considerable part of those Forces was absent in the Highlands, he voluntarily pursues *Montrose*, conceiving him to be stealing away, and about noone began to face him. *Montrose* determines to wait for the enemy (who as seemed to him came towards him) upon the higher ground: but *Baily* turning aside some three miles to the left hand *Montrose* holds on his intended march to *Alford*, where he staid that night, the enemy lying about four miles off.

The next day after, *Montrose* commands his men very

very early in the morning to ſtand to their armes, and make ready to battell, and placed them on a hill that ſtands over *Alford*. And as he with a Troop of Horſe was obſerving the motion and order of the enemy, and viewing the fords of the *Done*, a river which runs by *Alford*, it was told him that the enemy, Horſe and Foot, were making unto a ford which lay a mile from *Alford*, to the intent that they might cut off the Reare of their flying enemy; for ſo thoſe excellent Diviners propheſied to their own deſtruction. *Montroſe* leaving that troop of Horſe not far from the Ford, together with ſome ſelect and underſtanding men who ſhould give him perfect intelligence of all things, he returneth alone to order the battell. And above all things he poſſeſſes himſelfe of *Alford* hill, where he might receive the charge of the enemy if they fell on deſperately. Behind him was a mooriſh place full of ditches and pits, which would prevent Horſe falling upon his Reare: before him was a ſteep hill which kept his men from the enemies view, ſo that they could hardly perceive the formoſt rankes. He had ſcarce given order for the right managing of all things, when thoſe Horſe whom he had left at the Ford returned with a full cariere, and bring word that the enemy had paſſed the River. And now it was no more ſafe for either of them to retreat without the apparent ruine of their party. It is reported that *Baily*, like a skilfull and waty Commander, was ſore againſt his will drawne unto this battell; nor had engaged,

 hard,

had he not been necessitated unto it by the rashnesse of the Lord *Balcarise*, a Collonel of Horse; who precipitated himselfe and the Horse under his command into that danger, whether *Baily* would or no, as that he could not be brought off without the hazard of the whole Army.

Montrose gave the command of his right wing (on which side the enemies Horse were most strong) unto the Lord *Gordon*; and appointed *Nathaniel Gordon*, an old Commander to his assistance. The command of the left wing was given to the Earle of *Aboine*, to whom also was joyned Sir *William Rollock*: And of the maine battell to two valiant men, *Glengar*, and *Drumond* of *Ball* the younger, unto whom he added *George Graham*, Master of the Camp, an expert Souldier also. The Reserve, which was altogether hid behind the hill, was commanded by his nephew *Napier*. And for a while, *Montrose* kept himself upon the height, and the enemy in the valley being fortified with pits and ditches; for it was neither safe for the latter to charge up the hill, nor for the former to fall upon them that were surrounded with marshes and pooles. The numbers of the Foot were in a manner even, either side had about two thousand: but *Baily* was much stronger in Horse, for he had six hundred, and *Montrose* but two hundred and fifty. Only *Montrose* had this advantage, that the enemy were for the most part hirelings raised from dunghills, but those that served the King, Gentlemen, who fought for a good Cause and

Honour,

Honour, *gratis*, and not for gaine; and ſuch as eſteem'd it more becoming to die then to be overcome. Beſides *Montroſe* knew that the greateſt part of the old ſouldiers were gone with *Linſey*, and the new ones would be ſo frighted with the ſhouts of the Armies, and the noiſe of Trumpets, that they would ſcarce ſtand the firſt charge. Therefore in confidence of ſo juſt a cauſe, and ſo valiant aſſertors of it, he firſt drew down his men, and immediately the Lord *Gordon* giving a ſmart charge upon them, was courageouſly receiv'd by the enemy, who truſted to the multitude of their Horſe: and now being clos'd, and come to handy blows, no one could advance a foot but over his vanquiſhed enemy; nor retreat by reaſon of the preſſing on of thoſe in the Rear. The firſt that made way for themſelves and their men by a great ſlaughter of their enemies were the two *Gordons*, the Lord, and the Collonel; and Collonel *Nathaniel* called out unto thoſe expert Firelocks who now lin'd the Horſe as they were wont, *Come on, my fellow ſouldiers, throw down your now uſeleſſe guns, draw your ſwords, and ſheath them in the Rebells Horſe, or hamſtring them.* They inſtantly tooke the word of command, and at the ſame time *Montroſe* drawes up *Napier* with his Reſerve, which lay out of ſight on the other ſide of the hill; at whoſe ſudden and unexpected comming, the enemy affrighted betook himſelf to his heels. *Aboine* with the left wing kept off, nor did he attempt the enemy but by light skirmiſhes in ſmall parties: who when they ſaw their owne

men on their left wing routed and put to flight, made their retreat with little losse. Their Foot being deserted by their Horse, after they had desperately stood out a while, and refused quarter, were almost all cut off. The fall of the Lord *Gordon* was no little advantage to the escape of their Horse, who after the battell was won, rushing fiercely into the thickest of them, received a shot through his body by the conquered and flying enemy, and fell downe dead. Whom also *Aboine* did not hotly pursue, being much troubled with the losse of his brother.

In this battell, *Montrose* did not lose so much as one common souldier, and of Gentlemen, one *Culchol*, and one *Melvon*; whose names and families I should most willingly have inserted, had I been so happy as to have knowledge of them, because they died gallantly in the bed of Honour; fighting for their King, their Liberty, and the Laws. Nor are some Pedees as well Scotch as Irish to be forgotten, boyes scarce fourteene years of age a piece, who throwing down their masters luggage, and mounting upon their nags and sumpter-horses, did not only make a faire appearance of a body of Horse, but (as if they had been Corrivalls in valour with their masters) beyond what might be expected from their years and strength, fell in among the thickest of their enemies. Of whom some, but very few were slaine, nor did they sell their lives for nothing; and by that they gave an ample testimony of their towardnesse, and of so manly a spirit in children as might prescribe to

riper

riper years. But the losse of the Lord *Gordon* had so deep an impression upon all mens affections, that they had the face rather of a defeated then victorious Army. The first scene of their sorrow was acted in a dull silence; in the next, the floud-gates were broke open, and the Army was full of sighes, and sobs, and wailing, and lamentation; and then with bedewed cheeks, assoone as their grief could get a tongue, they blam'd Heaven, and Earth, and Fortune, and every thing for depriving the King, the Kingdome, the Age, themselves, and their posterity of such a man. Thus forgetting their victory and the spoile, they fixt their eyes upon the lifelesse body, kissed his face and hands, commended the singular beauty of the corps, compared the Nobility of his descent, and the plentifulnesse of his fortune, with the hopefulnesse of his parts; and counted that an unfortunate victory that had stood them in so much. And truly it was like to have happened, that their excessive sorrow for the losse of this noble Gentleman had conquer'd the Conquerors, had they not cõforted themselves with the presence and safety of *Montrosc.* Nor could he himself refrain himself from bewailing with salt tears the sad and bitter fate of his most dear and only friend, but lamented much that the honour of his Nation, the ornament of the Scottish Nobility, the ablest assertor of the Royall Authority in the North, and so intimate a friend unto himselfe should be thus cut off in the flowre of his age. In the meane time, hoping that reason and time betweene

them would aſſwage that grief, he commands Phyſicians to embalme his noble corps, which afterwards being removed to *Aberdene*, he ſaw brought forth with a ſumptuous and Souldier-like Funerall, and interr'd in the Monument of his Anceſtors in the Cathedrall Church. This battell was fought at *Alford* on the 2. of *July*, 1645.

CHAP. XII.

Montroſe that ſame afternoone that he had got this victory at *Alford*, marching to *Clunie* Caſtle, allowed only two or three houres to his ſouldiers for their refreſhment. And going from thence to the banke of the river *Dee*, ſent away the Earle of *Aboine*. who ſucceeded his deceaſed brother, into *Buchanſhire*, and the places adjacent for recruits; for many of them who were at the fight being Highlanders, and not farre from their owne habitations, had dropt home with their pillage. And becauſe *Macdonell* was not yet returned, he kept his quarters at *Cragſton*, expecting both him and *Aboine*. But when he perceived thoſe Auxiliaries were diſpatched unto him with leſſe ſpeed then he hoped, and finding his expectation deluded, impatient of ſo long and diſadvantageous delay, after he had got over the *Dee* and *Gransbaine*, fell downe into *Merne*, and lay at *Fordon* Chappell, once famous for the See and Sepulchre of St. *Palladius*. Thence he ſends to the Earle of *Aboine* (who was now come to *Aberdene*)

dene) to haſten unto him into *Merne* with ſuch Forces as he heard he had raiſed, *Aboine* came indeed, but brought no great ſtore of Forces along with him; therefore he ſends him back into the North to raiſe as many men as he could poſſibly, and bring them with all ſpeed unto the Camp. He himſelfe going through *Angus* met his coſen *Patricke Graham* with his *Athole*-men ready to live and die under his command, and *Mac-donell* with a great power of Highlanders: with him was *Macklen*, the chief of his ſept, a valiant man, and ſingularly loyall, who brought ſome ſeven hundred choice Foote of his friends and clients. Alſo the Chiefe of the *Mac-ranolds*, a great man in the Highlands, and one that entirely lov'd the King, who had above five hundred men at his heeles. The *Mac-gregories* alſo, and the *Macnabies*, men inferiour to none in valour and hardineſſe, after the faſhion of the Countrey followed their Commanders and Chiefs of their Families, whoſe certaine number I cannot eaſily aſſigne. And *Glengar*, a man never ſufficiently to be commended for his valour, and loyalty to the King, and ſerviceableneſſe and affection to *Montroſe*, (ſeeing he in perſon almoſt from the Expedition into *Argyle* had never departed from him) by his uncles and others whom he imployed brought in about five hundred more. Beſides out of the plaines of *Marre* came a great number of the *Fercharſons*, gallant men and of approved valour. And ſome too out of *Badenoth*, not many indeed but ſtout and able men of their hands.

Montroſe being reinforced with ſuch an Army, reſolves to make way into the heart of the Kingdome; as well to ſpoile the enemies levying of men in *Fife-ſhire*, and the Country on this ſide the *Forth*, as alſo to break up the Parliament which the Covenanters had not without ſolemnity and oſtentation ſummoned at Saint *Johns-towne*. Nor did any thing hinder him but want of Horſe, of which alwayes he had ſuch ſcarcity, that it was never or very ſeldome ſafe for him to fall downe into the plain Countrey. But becauſe he daily expected *Aboine* and *Airley* to come unto him with a conſiderable party of Horſe, he paſſed over the *Tay* at *Dunkeldon*, and lying neare *Amunde*, ſtruck no ſmall terrour into the enemy who held Saint *Johns-towne*; and from thence approaching nearer unto them, he encamped in *Methſyn* Forreſt.

The enemies Foot (all but the Garriſon Souldiers in the Towne) lay on the South of the river *Erne*. The Horſe which were deſigned for the guard of the Towne and Parliament, aſſoone as they diſcovered *Montroſe*'s Scouts, bring in a hot alarme that he was there, and come already cloſe to the gates, and no queſtion but he meant preſently to ſcale the walls, and make an aſſault upon the Town: therefore they were earneſt with the Nobility and the whole Parliament, to ſecure themſelves by a ſpeedy flight: when all this while *Montroſe* had ſcarce a hundred Horſe, and they were four hundred. But he the next day the more to encreaſe their terrour, drew neer unto

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the Towne with thoſe Horſe he had, and about the ſame number of ready Fire-lockes whom he mounted upon pack-horſes; and ſet out his men in their view ſo much to his advantage, that they appeared a conſiderable body of Horſe. And becauſe the enemy kept themſelves within the gates, forthwith turning towards *Duplin*, he diligently view'd this ſide of the River *Erne* and all that coaſt, as if he had Horſe enough to keep that all Country in ſubjection. And truly thus much he got by it, that the enemy tooke him to be exceeding ſtrong as well in Horſe as Foot. Therefore they draw together as many Forces from all ſides as they could make, whom they intended to fight with *Montroſe* if he ſhould offer to paſſe over the *Forth*. But he finding it not ſafe for himſelfe neither to deſcend into the champian Country, they both kept their ſtations for many dayes, the enemy expecting Auxiliaries out of *Fife*, and the Country on this ſide the *Forth*, and out of the Weſt; and *Montroſe* looking for the like out of the North. And waiting impatiently for *Aboine*, who was too ſlow with his men, he ſent ſome to haſten him, leaſt they ſhould loſe the opportunity of doing their buſineſſe. He alſo complained, but in a ſoft and gentle manner, as before a faithfull friend, that *Aboine*'s lingring and delay was in the fault, that a brave victory, by which he conceived the Rebells might have been utterly ſubdued, had ſlipt out of his hands; which misfortune no man doubted but his ſpeed and diligence might have prevented.

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The enemy when they underſtood that he only cheated them with a falſe Muſter of Horſe, having gotten aid from all parts, and by this time overnumbring him even in Foot, labour'd not only to provoke, but even compell him to fight. Whereupon he concluded to ſtep aſide a little into the neighbouring Mountains, whither he knew either the enemy would not advance, or if they did it would be to their loſſe. Therefore the enemy drawing neare with all their Army to *Methyn*, he gives a private command for the Carriages to drive faſt up the hills, whiles he, as if he intended to fight, orders the battell, makes good the paſſes with ſtrong guards, and draws up the Horſe into the Front. Nor did the enemy expect any other then to try it out by battell, which he made as if he would give, till ſuch time as the Carriages were got ſo far before, that he conceiv'd them out of danger: and then he commands the Army in one body at their cloſe order to march away apace: He gave charge unto ſuch Horſe as he had, and his ableſt Firelocks to bring up the Reare, and to ſecure them from the enemies Horſe. The enemy providing for a preſent charge, as they expected, when they ſaw *Montroſe* retreating, firſt purſued eagerly though to no purpoſe; for he making good all paſſes as he went, eaſily repulſed them, and without loſſe of ſo much as one private Souldier, came chearfully off into the heights and ſteep places that were unacceſſible unto the enemies Horſe, and for their Foot they fear'd no aſſault from them. It is remarkable, that

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when *Montroſe*'s Horſe were come up unto the paſſes, and the enemy knew very well they were not able to purſue any further; leſt with all that paines they ſhould ſeeme to have done nothing at all, they ſent out three hundred of their ableſt and readieſt Horſe to follow after them with a great ſhout and baſe language; whom, when *Montroſe* ſaw, he call'd for only twenty active bodied men of the Highlanders that were uſed to hunting, and very good marksmen, and commanded them to check their inſolence; and they firſt of all creeping hither and thither, and hiding their guns, took their aimes ſo well that they knockt downe ſome of the forwardeſt of thoſe men; who being men of the better ſort, by their example made the reſt more wary, ſo that they were all contented to retreat. But thoſe good huntſmen being encouraged with their good ſucceſſe, aſſoone as they ſaw their enemies diſorder'd, came into the open plain and reſolutely charged their Horſe: who, in as much feare as Bucks or Does chaſed by Hunters, ſet ſpurs to their Horſes and fled back to their maine body as if the Divell were in them.

The enemy upon their retreat choſe that place for their Rendezvouz from whence *Montroſe* departed *Methfyns* Forreſt: after they had done nothing worthy to be remembred in all that expedition but that when they found themſelves unable to cope with men, they exerciſed their cruelty upon women: for all the wives of the Iriſh and Highlanders that they light of, (who followed the Camp for the love of their Hus-

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bands) moſt baſely and ſhameleſly they hew'd in pieces. *Montroſe* kept his quarters at little *Dunkeldon*, both becauſe the place was cumberſome and unpaſſable for Horſe, and lay very conveniently for receiving ſuch aids as he daily expected with *Aboine* out of the North. All which time the two ſpleenative Armies lying cloſe together rather ſtood upon their guards then offered any affront one to the other.

And now at length *Aboine* and Collonel *Nathaniel Gordon* brought up their men out of the North to *Dunkeldon*: men for their number indeed fewer then was expected, but for their ſtoutneſſe and true valour farre above their number. The Horſe they brought were only two hundred, and ſome ſixſcore Firelocks whom they had mounted and made Dragoons: other Foot they brought none. Along with them came the Earle of *Airley* and Sir *David* his Sonne with fourſcore Horſe, moſt of them of the noble family of the *Oglebyes*; amongſt whom *Alexander* Sonne and heire of Sir *John Ogleby* of *Innercarit* was moſt eminent, not only for the rare accompliſhments of his perſon, and the ſplendor of his Anceſtors, but for the honour of his valiant and happy atchievements, much above what his age could promiſe. *Montroſe* being thus well recruited, thought it not good to loſe any time but marched ſtraight towards the enemy. But aſſoone as he came to *Amande*, he thought it beſt to ſee in what condition the enemy was, and to find out whether that

was

was true which he had receiv'd a flying report of; that was, that very many of their Auxiliaries had deſerted their colours and run home. Therefore leaving his Foot to take their reſt, a little before night he fac'd the enemy with his Horſe; with which ſight being ſomething affrighted, they kept within their trenches. And next morning early *Montroſe* riding about to diſcover, was informed that they had ſtollen away at the dead of the night to *Methfyn*, and in diſorder had got over a bridge upon the *Erne*. He inſtantly cauſes his men to march, and paſſing the river at a ſtone-bridge about ſix miles off, lay that night in *Strath-Erne*.

CHAP. XIII.

Ife is the moſt populous, the moſt rich, the thickeſt Country Towns and villages in all *Scotland* Its inhabitants are little martiall, conſiſting moſt of Merchants, Shopkeepers, Mariners, and Husbandmen. But ſo new-fangled in their Religion, and ſo bewitched both by the example and authority of the Nobility, and by the Sermons of their ſeditious Miniſters, that all of them upon the matter were extreamly addicted to the Covenanters. The Country it ſelfe is almoſt an Iland, bein inviron'd towards the South with the Scottiſh *Fyrth*, on the North with the *Tay*, which carrieth ſhips of great burden all along; on the Eaſt with the maine ſea. No entrance thither by land but on the

Weſt, in the ſtraights of which both Armies lay. The whole Country was in a diſtraction, ſome (eſpecially their much admired Preachers that thundred nothing but Excommunications, inciting and compelling all of every eſtate and age to take up armes; others flocking in great numbers unto them, others running hither and thither to hide themſelves, as every one was led by his owne ſuperſtition, confidence or feare. *Montroſe* was very deſirous to aſſault the enemy, and try the fortune of a battell with them before they encreas'd their Forces with addition of the *Fife*-men; but it would not be. For they had ſo fortified themſelves by the vadvantage of the ground, and the narrowneſſe of the paſſages, that he could by no meanes either make his way unto them or draw them out into plainer ground. Having therefore made them ſeverall fruitleſſe offers of battell, he reſolved to march into the heart of the Country, and came to *Kinroſſe*, as well to hinder the riſing of that Country, as to traine the enemy at laſt out of their faſtneſſe to come in unto the aide of their diſtreſſed friends. They, not ſo much as daring to fall upon his Rear, turn'd another way, and keeping cloſe to the banke firſt of the *Erne*, afterwards of the *Tay*, made ſpeed towards the Eaſt-ſide of the Country. As *Montroſe* paſſed along, he ſent Collonel *Nathaniel Gordon*, and Sir *William Rollock*, before him with a ſmall party. Theſe ſending the reſt of their party up and downe to ſcout, kept only ten men in their company: on a ſudden they happened upon

upon two hundred of the enemy who were raiſing men in thoſe parts; and being not able to retreat, they twelve encountred the two hundred, put them to flight, kill'd ſome and took other ſome priſoners.

Montroſe that night came to *Kinroſſe*, not doubting but they of *Fife* who were exceedingly out of love with the King moſt firme to the Covenanters, and wholly given to the new ſuperſtition, were generally up in armes. Therefore thinking it not ſafe raſhly to engage with ſo great a multitude of Horſe and Foot, he determin'd to paſſe over the *Forth*; and that upon this ground, that he having wearied out the *Fife-men* (whom he beleev'd would not be eaſily perſwaded to follow the Army further then their owne borders) with long marches might vanquiſh them without a blow. For he accounted that moſt of them being born or brought up in ſhops, or ſhips, or taverns, and not acquainted with the hardſhip of ſouldiers would preſently give out and be weary. Beſides ſuch of the Nobility as were in rebellion (after they ſaw with ſorrow that the ſeat of the War was drawne ſo neare them as the *Forth*) were raiſing men with more eagerneſſe then ever before upon the Borders and in the Weſt; of whom the chief were the Earls of *Lanerick*, *Caſſils*, and *Eglington*. Whoſe levies *Montroſe* laboured either to hinder, or draw themſelves to his ſide before they came up to *Baily* and the *Fife-men*; therefore he marched from *Kinroſſe* towards *Sterling*, and lay that night ſome three miles from the City. The next day ſending

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the Foot before, he followed ſoftly after with the Horſe, becauſe he ſuſpected that the enemy purſued him in the Rear.

Nor was he deceived in that ſuſpition, for ſome Eſpyalls whom he left behind him brought word that *Baily* was hard by with the greateſt Army that ever he had. And immediately the enemies Scouts came within view, one of whom having been too forward was brought priſoner to *Montroſe* by ſome of his Horſe. He being examined told them free and confidently, that he beleeved *Baily* and his party were reſolved to march all that night to engage him to fight aſſoone as was poſſible before they diſmiſt the *Fife-men*, who being already tir'd he hardly beleev'd would be drawne over the *Forth*; accounting their work at end aſſoone as the enemy was gone out of their owne Country. Therefore *Montroſe* that he might get ſpeedily over the *Forth*, bid his men march apace, and going on the other ſide of *Sterling* (a good Towne, and one of the Kings ſtrongeſt Caſtles, in which the enemy had now a great Garriſon) that ſame night paſſed over the river at a Ford about four miles above the Towne. And at break of day next morning made a halt a while about ſix miles from *Sterling*: where he had intelligence, that the enemy the night before had not come over the *Forth*, but quartered three miles from *Sterling* on the other ſide of the river. Therefore *Montroſe* holding on his intended journey, encamped himſelf in that fatall place, the Field of *Kilſythe*. He bids the ſouldiers

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to refreſh themſelves, but however to be in a readineſſe either to fight or march, as occaſion ſhould ſerve. The enemy the meane while by an eaſier and ſhorter cut got over the *Forth* at *Sterling* bridge, and encamped at night ſome three miles from *Kilſythe*.

In the interim, the Earle of *Lanerick*, Duke *Hamilton*'s brother had rais'd a thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe of the friends and clients of the *Hamiltons*, in *Cluidſdale* and the places adjacent, and was not at preſent above twelve miles from *Kilſythe*. And the Earls of *Caſſils*, *Eglington*, and *Glencarne*, with others of the Covenanting Nobility, were engaging the Weſt unto the ſame impious *Militia*; who were ſo much the readier to take up armes, by how much they had leſſe felt the miſeries of Warre. Which things being well conſidered, *Montroſe* thought it beſt to fight with thoſe Forces which *Baily* had at preſent. For although they were more numerous then his own, yet the danger was like to be greater of his ſide, if he ſhould be put to engage with them when *Lanericks* and other parties were come up. But moreover he was either obliged to take this courſe or do nothing, and returne back into the Highlands with the blemiſh of that Honour which by ſo many victories he had atchiev'd. The enemy on the other ſide being arrogant, and confiding in the multitude of their men, beleev'd that *Montroſe* had but made a running march the dayes before, and had paſſed the *Forth* more out of feare then deſigne, ſo that

they counted it nothing to assault him in that ground and entrenchment which he had chosen to his best advantage. And above all, their proud hopes were most carefull of this, to block up all wayes of his escape, and to prevent his returne into the Mountains. But there are some that say, *Baily* himself thought it not best to give him battell, but was over-sway'd by the authority and votes of the Earle of *Lindsey* especially, and some other of the Nobility that were present in the Army, which forc't him much against stomack to draw up his men, and order the battell as he could. However it was, early in the morning they led their men straight upon *Montrose*: which when he saw, he told the standers by that that was happen'd which he most desired for now he could supply his want of men by the advantage of the ground; and therefore he made haste to possesse himself of the fastnesses before them. Moreover he commands all his men as well Horse as Foot to throw off their doublets, and to affront the enemy all in white, being naked unto the waste all but their shirts: which when they had chearfully performed, they stood there provided and ready to fight, resolved certainly either to conquer or die.

In the field where they intended to fight there were some Cottages and Country-gardens, where *Montrose* had conveniently lodg'd some few men; and the first designe of the enemy was to dislodge them. But it took not; for making a fierce assault and being as stoutly receiv'd, assoon as they were observ'd to cool

cool ſomething of their firſt heat, thoſe that mann'd the places beat them off, drave them away, and ſlew them without reſiſtance. The Highlanders being animated with this happy ſucceſſe, thoſe that were next thoſe places not expecting the word of Command, ran raſhly up the hill which lay open to the whole ſtrength of the enemy. *Montroſe* although he was ſomething troubled at the unſeaſonable boldneſſe of his men, yet thought it not good to leave them engaged; nor was it eaſie to ſay whether the quickneſſe of his reliefe or the cowardlineſſe of the enemy conduc'd more to their ſafety. *Montroſe* had in all four thouſand four hundred Foot, and five hundred Horſe; a thouſand of his Foot or more had now by their own fault ſo engaged themſelves with the enemy that they could not come off, for the enemy encounter'd them with ſix thouſand Foot and eight hundred Horſe. But the enemies Reare came up but ſlowly, and while the Van made a ſtand expecting their advance, *Montroſe* had opportunity to bring timely aid to his engaged men. But at laſt they ſend out three troops of Horſe, and after them two thouſand Foot againſt thoſe raſh and almoſt loſt men of *Montroſe*. Which when *Montroſe* (ſaw after others had too diſhonourably ſhifted off that ſervice) he thus beſpeaks the Earle of *Airley*, *You ſee* (my noble Lord) *how yonder men of ours by their unadviſedneſſe have brought themſelves into a moſt deſperate hazard, and will preſently be trampled to dirt by the enemies Horſe, except we relieve them with all ſpeed. Now all mens eyes and hearts are fixt*

upon your Lordſhip, they think you only worthy ſo great an honour as to repell the enemy and bring off our fellow ſouldiers. Beſides it ſeemes moſt proper for you, that the errour which hath been committed by the foolhardineſſe of youth, may be corrected by your Lordſhips grave and diſcreet valour. And he undertooke the ſervice (as dangerous as it was) with all his heart, and being guarded with a troop of Horſe, (in which rode *Iohn Ogleby* of *Baldeby*, who had formerly been a Collonel in *Swethland*, a ſtout man, and a skilfull ſouldier) led them on ſtraight upon the enemy. And they giving the charge upon the *Ogleby*'s, diſputed it ſharply with them for a while, but at laſt being no longer able to withſtand their courage fac't about: whom the *Oglebye*'s purſued ſo hotly, that they made them fall foule upon their owne Foot; and (charging them furiouſly thorough and thorough) routed them and trode them under foot. By this gallant example of *Airley* and the *Oglebye*'s, *Montroſe*'s ſouldiers being enrag'd more and more could no longer be kept back from raiſing a great ſhout (as if they had already got the day) and falling on upon the enemy. Nor would the Rebells Horſe long abide their charge, but deſerting their Foot, fell a running as faſt as ever they could: Nor did their Foot after they were ſo deſerted ſtand it out long, but throwing down their armes ſought to ſave their lives by flight. Which proved unſerviceable, for the victorious purſuers had the killing of them for fourteene miles: So that of all the enemies Foot that were preſent at that battell,

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it is thought there did not an hundred come off. Nor did their Horſe eſcape very well, of whom ſome were killed, ſome taken, the reſt diſperſt. Their Ordnance, their Armes, their Spoiles came clearly to the Conquerours, who loſt only ſix of their ſide; whereof three were *Oglebyes*, valiant Gentlemen, who fighting like themſelves, ſealed the victory with their own bloud. The rebellious ſort of the Nobility (of whom many were in the fight) ſome of them by their timous running and ſwiftneſſe of their Horſes got to the Towne and ſtrong Caſtle of *Sterling*: others eſcaping to the *Scottiſh Fyrth* ſhipt themſelves in ſome veſſels that lay at anchor neare the ſhoare: amongſt whom *Argyle* (having now this third time been fortunate to aboat) eſcaped into a ſhip; and thought himſelf ſcarce ſafe enough ſo, till weighing anchor he got into the maine. Of priſoners, the chief were Sir *William Murray* of *Blebe*, *James Arnot* brother to the Lord *Burghley*, one Collonel *Dice*, and Collonel *Wallis*, beſides many more, whom *Montroſe* after quarter given uſed courteouſly, and upon the engagement of their Honours ſet at liberty. And this is that famous victory of *Kilſythe*, obtained on the 15 day of *September* 1645. in which it is beleev'd no fewer then ſix thouſand Rebells were ſlaine.

CHAP. XIV.

THere was a great alteration all the Kingdome over after this battell at *Kilsythe*; those of the Rebell-Nobility were all of them sore affrighted, some of them fled to *Barwicke*, some to *Carlyle*, some to *Newcastle*, others into *Ireland*. And such as before only privately wisht well unto the King, now did no longer feare to shew themselves to expresse their loyalty, to pray openly for his prosperity, and to offer their service. But those that before had sided with the Covenanters began to aske forgiveneſſe, to plead they were constrain'd to take up armes by the violence and tyranny of the Rebells, to submit their persons and estates to the Conquerour, humbly to beseech his protection, and implore his wonted clemency. And Cities and Countries that were furthest off began to dispatch their Commissioners to professe in their names their Allegiance to their King, their duty and service to his Vicegerent, and freely to offer him men, arms, provision, and other necessaries of War. The Nobility of the Realme and the Chiefs of Septs came in thick unto the Lord Governour, welcomed him, tendred their service unto him, extol'd his high and honourable atchievements, and thank't him for them. All whom he pardoned for what was past, receiv'd them with liberty and indempnity into his protection, and encouraged them to be of good cheare. *Nor did he lay any greater bur-*

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den upon them, then to change that covetous and cruell slavery which they were manacled with by the Rebells, for the sweet and gentle government and protection of a most gracious Prince; and by laying aside all former grudges and fewds, hereafter more religiously to observe their duty and loyalty to the good King; and thence forward never more to have to doe with the counsells of seditious men, who by endeavouring to satisfie their own lusts, had engaged King and Subject one against the other, and upon the matter ruin'd both. For his part he never had any other intention, then to restore their Religion, their King, their Liberty, his Peers and Countrymen, by Armes (when no other means was left) out of the tyranny of Rebells unto their ancient peace, happinesse, and glory. Which if he should effect, he would give Almighty God the authour of all good things everlasting praise; but if he failed, however he should by these his honest endeavours acquit himselfe before God, and Gods Vicegerent his Majesty; before all good men, and his posterity, his honour and his conscience.

At this time the whole Kingdom sounded nothing but *Montrose's* praise. Men of all sorts every where extolling the ingenuity of his disposition in which he out-went all his Equalls; the gallantry of his person in Warre, his patience in travels, his evennesse of spirit in dangers, his wisdome in counsels, his faithfulnesse to such as submitted, his quicknesse in dispatches, his courtesie to such as he took prisoners; in a word, his truly heroick vertue in all things, and

towards all men. And this honour moſt men gave him in good earneſt, and out of a ſincere affection, but ſome in craft and diſſimulation; and as every one had wit or skill they ſet forth his *Encomiums* or *Panegyricks* in Verſe or Proſe. Yea ſuch is the volubility of humane things, and the inconſtancy of the whirling multitude, that they were not affraid openly to curſe and raile at the ringleaders and prime men of the Covenanters Faction, ſuch as *Argyle*, *Lindſey*, *Loudon*, and others, (whom a while agoe they honoured and adored for Saints) as authors of all the miſchiefs that had befalne them.

All things going on thus happily, the Northerne parts of the Kingdome being ſecured on his back, the way being opened unto him into the South, the power of the Rebells every where quaſh't their chief leaders (who in conſcience of their guilt deſpaired of mercy) driven out of the Kingdome, and no conſiderable party remaining in armes; yet in the Weſt there were ſome ſtirres. For the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Eglington*, and ſome other promoters of the Covenanters Cauſe laboured to engage the Countries in a new War, and were ſaid to have rais'd in a tumultuary way the number of foure thouſand men. Therefore *Montroſe* the next day after the battell of *Kilſythe* drew his men into *Cluidſdale*, from whence the Earle of *Lanerick*, being ſtruck with the news of their late overthrow, disbanding thoſe men that he had rais'd, was fled. *Montroſe* choſe that quarter as lying moſt commodiouſly for his affaires in the South

and

and West; and marched to *Glascow*, which is the principall city of that Countrey. He receiv'd the Town into his protection, and entring into it with the joyfull acclamations of the people, first of all he restrained his souldiers from plunder, and then being severe against the delinquents, for the terrour of others, he put some of the chiefest incendiaries of them to death. After that in favour of the Citizens, the next day after he came, he departed the Town and quartered at *Bothwell*. Where because it was but six miles from the City, lest the Citizens should be prejudiced by the insolence of the souldiers, he gave them leave to stand upon their guard, and defend the City with a Garrison of the inhabitants. Hoping with such acts of clemency to engage not only the men of *Glascow* unto himself, but the inhabitants of other Cities also, by good offices more then by force and armes.

At *Bothwell* he staid many dayes, where he received the personall addresses of some of the Nobility, and of others by their Trustees, Friends, and Messengers; and setled the peace of Towns and Countries thereabouts, who all willingly submitted themselves. The chief of the inhabitants of those parts who came to welcome him, and offer their service were, the Marquesse of *Douglasse*, a man of most noble family and chief of the *Douglasses*, the Earls of *Limmuck*, *Annandale*, and *Hertfield*; the Lord Barons of *Seton*, *Drummond*, *Fleming*, *Maderty*, *Carnegy*, and *Jonston*; *Hamilton* of *Orbeston*, *Charter* of *Hempsfield*, *Toures* of *Immerleigh*, a most deserving man, who

afterwards

afterwards loſt his life gallantly in battell) *Stuart* of *Reſith*, *Dalyel* a brother of the Earle of *Carnwarth*, Knights: and many more whoſe names I can either not rightly call to mind, or elſe thinke fit to forbeare at preſent, leſt by giving them an unſeaſonable and thankleſſe commendation now whiles they lie under intolerable tyranny, I ſhould doe them more harme then honour.

After the victory of *Kilſythe* no thoughts had higher place in *Montroſe*'s noble breaſt, then the enlargement of ſuch priſoners as for no other fault but the ſin of Loyalty had been moſt baſely uſed, and ſtill expected death in the grievous and filthy gaole of *Edinburgh*. Therefore he ſends his nephew *Napier* with Collonel *Nathaniel Gordon* and a commanded party of Horſe to *Edinburgh*, to ſummon the City and receive it upon ſurrender, to ſet the priſoners at liberty, and to ſettle the Town in peace and loyalty, but in caſe they ſtood out and refuſed to ſubmit, to threaten them with fire and ſword. They aſſoon as they came within foure miles of the Towne made a ſtand, (and intended to come no nearer, unleſſe they chanced to be forced unto it by the obſtinacy of the Citizens, (as well that at that diſtance they might the more eaſily reſtraine the unrulineſſe of the ſouldier, leſt they ſhould wrong the poore inhabitants, and in their fury reduce that curſed City which had been the cauſe and fomenter of all the Rebellion into aſhes, which *Montroſe* gave them eſpecially in charge by all means to prevent; as alſo

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to preſerve the Army ſafe from the plague, which was hot in the City and places adjacent, and whereof very many dyed every day. Aſſoon as ever the news of their approach was brought unto the Town, they all began to tremble and deſpaire of their lives; and to raiſe a cry as if the ſwords were already at their throats, or their houſes in a flame. Not a few of them being pricked in their guilty conſciences, freely and openly accus'd themſelves for the moſt ungratefull, traiterous, ſacrilegious and perjured perſons in the world, and unworthy of any mercy. Then applying themſelves unto the priſoners they had, both calling unto them a far off, and ſending private meſſengers, they implored their aſſiſtance; and *beſought them in compaſſion of the poore ſilly people, who were almoſt waſted with a great mortality, to pacifie the anger of the Conquerours whom they had moſt juſtly incenſed*: told them, *all their hopes lay in them, and they were utterly undone without their help.* Proteſted moreover, *that if they found mercy but that one time, they would redeeme their former revolt with more religious fidelity and conſtant Allegiance ever after.* The priſoners (whom but the other day the baſeſt of the people bitterly abuſed and reviled, curſing and bequeathing them to the gallowes and worſe) forgetting all injuries receiv'd, and more troubled with the ſence then revenge of their ſufferings, firſt rendred hearty thanks to Almighty God who of his mercy ſhewed unto them that liberty and ſafety which they little expected; and then turning unto their

deadly

deadly enemies, bad them *be of good cheare, for the most gracious King* (*and his Lieutenant* Montrose) *desired the safety and happinesse of his repenting Subjects, and not their extirpation and ruine. Therefore they advised them immediately to send some delegates to* Montrose, *humbly to beg his pardon; for nothing could better appease the rage of a Conquerour then a speedy submission. For their parts they would not be backward to mediate with him for their safety, and doubted not but his high and noble spirit which could not be vanquished with their armes, would yet suffer it self to be overcome with the prayers and lamentations of men in misery.*

The *Edinburgians* being comforted with these hopes, and assisted with this good advice, immediately call a Hall to consult of sending delegates. There were among the prisoners of those that were most high in birth, and favour with *Montrose*, *Lodowick* Earle of *Crawford*, Chiefe of the most ancient and noble family of the *Lindseys*, a man famous for Military service in forraign Nations, amongst the *Swedes*, *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*. This man by the power and cunning of his cosen the Earle of *Lindsey* (who becaus he was greedy of the honour and title of the Earle of *Crawford*, was greedy also of his life) was designed by the Covenanters to be put to death. Nor was it for any other crime but for being a Souldier, and an expert man, and one that had done faithfull service for his Master the King, and it was feared he would doe so againe if he should be suffered to live.

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There was also *James* Lord *Ogleby*, Son to the Earle of *Airley*, one singularly beloved by *Montrose* who was formidable both for his fathers and his owne vertue and authority. He also being an enemy to *Argyle*, both upon old fewds and some fresher wrongs, was just as deep in sin and danger as *Crawford*. These therefore the Common Councell of *Edinburgh* chose out of the rest of the prisoners, and immediately setting them at liberty, they earnestly pray and beseech them to assist their Delegates to the uttermost of the power they had with the Lord Governour, and to labour to hold his hands off that miserable City, upon which the hand of God himself lay so heavy already. And they curse themselves and their posterity to the pit of hell, if they should ever prove unmindfull of so great a favour or unthankfull to them that did it. They were not backward to undertake a busines which was so universally desired, but taking the Delegates along with them went forth to *Napier*. He having by the way delivered his deare father, his wife, his brother-in-law Sir *Sterling Keer*, and his sisters out of the prison at *Limmuch*, whither the Covenanters had removed them from *Edinburgh* Castle, marched back unto his uncle with his Forces, and those prisoners now at liberty, and the Delegates of the City, as having done his businesse. *Montrose* embracing *Crawford* and *Ogleby*, his deareſt friend, whom he had long longed for, and rejoycing to see them safe and sound, used them with all honour and accommodation after their

long,

long restraint, and they on the other side magnified their deliverer and avenger with high praises and thanks, (as became them to doe,) on both sides affording a spectacle of great joy to the beholders.

Afterwards the Delegates of *Edinburgh* were admitted to audience, and delivered their Message from the Provost and City. The summe was, *They would freely surrender the Town unto the Governour, humbly desired his pardon, promised to be more dutifull and loyall for the time to come; committed themselves and all that they had to his patronage and protection, for which they earnestly besought him. Moreover they undertooke forthwith to set the rest of the prisoners at liberty according to his appointment, and to doe any else that he should enjoyne them. And although the City was so wasted with a grievous contagion that no men could be raised of it, yet they were ready as far as their share came, to pay contribution to such as should be raised in other places. And above all things they humbly begged at his hands, that he would labour to mitigate the anger of their most gracious Lord the King, that he might not be too severe with that City, which by the cunning, authority, and example of a seditious and prevailing party had been engaged in Rebellion.* Montrose had them *be confident of the rest, and required no more at their hands then to be hereafter more observant of their loyalty to the King, and faithfully to renounce all correspondence with the Rebells in armes against him, either without or within the Kingdome; To restore the Castle of* Edinburgh

dinburgh (*which it was evident was in their cuſtody at that time*) *unto the King and his Officers. Laſtly, aſſoon as the Delegates came home, to ſet the priſoners at liberty and ſend them to him.* And truly as for the priſoners they ſent them away upon their returne: but as to other Articles they were perfidious, and perjured; and if they doe not repent muſt one day give an account unto God the aſſertor of truth and juſtice for their high ingratitude, and reitterated diſloyalty.

Whiles theſe things paſſed concerning *Edinburgh*, *Montroſe* ſent away *Alexander Mac-donel* (to whom he joyned *Iohn Drummond* of *Ball*, a ſtout Gentleman) into the Weſterne coaſts to allay the tumults there, and to ſpoile the deſignes of *Caſſils* and *Eglington*. But they receiving the alarme of *Mca-donells* approach were immediately diſperſt in a great fright. Some of the Earls and other Nobles made ſtraight into *Ireland*, others plaid leaſt in ſight in I know not what lurking places. All the Weſterne Countries, the Towns of *Aire*, *Irwin* and others ſtrove which ſhould firſt ſubmit, freely offering their fidelity and ſervice. Neither (which was more then he expected) did *Montroſe* ever find men better affected to the King then in thoſe Weſterne parts: For moſt of the Gentry, Knights, and Chiefs of Families, and ſome alſo of the prime Nobility came off chearfully to his ſide. Whoſe names, which otherwiſe ought to have been regiſtred with honour, at the preſent I ſhall paſſe by (if not in an acceptable perhaps, yet certainly

tainly in an advantageous ſilence,) for I ſhould be loath ſo honeſt and loyall ſouls ſhould be queſtioned by their cruel enemies, for their good affections, upon my information.

CHAP. XV.

Montroſe had now taken into his thoughts the ſetling of the South-borders, and ſent unto the Earls of *Hume*, *Rosburough*, and *Trequaire* to invite them to aſſociate with him for matter of Peace and War, and all things that were to be done in the name and by the authority of the King. Theſe were not only the powerfulleſt men in thoſe parts by reaſon of the multitude of their friends and their great retinue, but alſo made as though they were moſt cordiall aſſertors of the Kings authority. For beſides the bond of Allegeance, which was common to them with others, they were engaged unto him by extraordinary benefits. Nor were they only advanced unto great Honours by him, as being raiſed from the order of Knighthood to a high pitch of Nobility; but were made Governours of the moſt gainfull Countries, and by that means being enriched above their equalls and their owne condition, heaped up wealth indeed unto themſelves, but envy and hatred upon the King. They againe diſpatch ſome of their friends of the beſt quality to aſſure him, *That they were ready to undergoe any hazard under his conduct and command in the behalf of their moſt bountifull King*, They promiſe

promiſe moreover to raiſe a world of men, and nothing hindered their coming up unto the Camp, if he would but be pleaſed to draw that way with never ſo ſmall a party of his forces. And ſo it would come to paſſe, that not only their friends and clients, but the whole Country being animated with his preſence and authority, would cheerfully take up armes as one man; and if they ſtood out, they might be compelled, or a courſe taken with them. Therefore they earneſtly beſought him to afford them his aſſiſtance in this, and in all the reſt he ſhould find them his moſt faithfull and ready ſervants. Theſe were faire words, and at firſt hearing, ſeem'd to carry an honeſt meaning along with them; but were promiſed with that kind of faith that the Creatures and Favourites of the too indulgent King are uſed to keep. And perhaps upon that ſcore the Earle of *Lanerick* (Duke *Hamiltons* brother) is more to be commended, whom *Montroſe* having earneſtly ſollicited by friends to come off to the Kings ſide, although that way he might very likely expect his pardon for what was paſt, and the releaſement of his brother, yet without any diſſimulation he gave this peremptory anſwer, *That he would have nothing to doe with that ſide, and that he would never pretend that friendſhip which he intended not to preſerve.* And I would to God all they on whom the good King has too much relied, had delivered themſelves with the ſame candor and plain dealing ever ſince the beginning of theſe troubles.

About the ſame time *Montroſe* ſent the Marqueſſe

of *Douglasse* and the Lord *Ogilby* over into *Anandale* and *Niddisdale*, that there with the assistance of the Earls of *Anandale* and *Hartfied*, they might list as many souldiers, Horse especially, as they could. And gives them orders withall to march with such as they should so raised towards *Trequaire*, *Roxborough*, and *Hume*; that they might engage them without any farther put offs in an association with them. For *Montrose* understood a little what Courtholy-water meant, and therefore was something suspitious of the delayes which they fram'd, the rather having had some experience of their cunning and slipperinesse, especially of *Trequaires*. And truly *Douglasse* by the cheartfull endeavours of the Earls of *Anandale* and *Hartfield*, had quickly raised a considerable party, if one count them by the head; but they were new men, taken from their plowes and flocks, and but raw souldiers: forward enough at the first charge, but by and by their hearts faile them, and they can by no means be kept to their colours. When *Douglasse* and the rest of the Commanders considered this, they write againe and againe to *Montrose*, that he would make haste after them with his old souldiers towards *Tweed*; for by his presence and authority, and the company and example of the old souldiers, they might be brought either willingly, or whether they would or no, to know their duties. In the meane time according to his command they go on to *Strathgale*, freely offering an opportunity, and their service if it needed to *Roxborough* and *Trequaire*

to

to draw out their men more easily and timely. But they (good men) who well enough understood the secretest counsels of the Covenanters, and knew that all their Horse would be there immediately out of *England* under the command of *David Lesley*, intended nothing more then to over-reach the King with their old tricks, and to deliver *Montrose* (whose glory they envied) into the hands of his enemies, though not by armes (for that they could not) yet by treachery. To that end they insinuate againe and againe not only unto *Douglasse* and his party, but to *Montrose* himselfe by their friends and frequent messengers, that for their parts they were ready to expose their persons to the utmost hazard, but they could never be able to draw together their friends, clients, and Trained bands, except they were animated and encouraged with *Montrose* his presence. And that they might be the better beleeved, they curse themselves to the pit of hell if they did not stand stifly and unalterably to their promise. *Montrose* notwithstanding was not taken with all this, but staid still at *Bothwel*, conceiving that if there were any truth or honesty in their words, *Douglasse* and his party who still lay in the Country adjacent, would be sufficient for the raising and encouraging of their friends and dependents.

At length when *Montrose* had quartred a great while at *Bothwell*, most of the Highlanders being loaden with spoile ran privily away from their colours and returned home. Presently after their very Com-

manders desired Furloghs for a little while, pretending that the enemy had not an Army in the field within the borders of that Kingdome, and therefore their service for the present might well be spared; besides they complained that their houses and corn, in and with which their parents, wives, children were to be sustained that winter, were fired by the enemy, and no provision made for them, so that they humbly desired to be excused for a few weeks, in which they might take care to secure their families from hunger and cold. Also they solemnly and voluntarily engaged their words, that they would returne many more then they went, and much refreshed, within forty dayes. These (*Montrose*, seeing he could not hold them, as being Voluntiers and fighting without pay, that he might the more engage them, thought fit to dismisse them not only with Licences but Commissions. And giving publick commendations to the souldiers, and thankes in his Majesties name to the Commanders, exhorting them to follow their businesse closely and vigorously, he appoints *Alexander Mac-donell* their Countryman and Kinsman (who was but too ambitious of that employment) to be their companion and guide, who should bring them back to the Camp by the day appointed. Who in a set speech gave thanks in all their names to the Lord Governour for his so noble favour; and as if he had been their Baile or surety, with a solemne oath undertooke for their sudden returne: yet he never saw *Montrose* after. Nor was he contented to

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carry away with him the whole Forces of the Highlanders, (who were more then three thousand stout men) but he privily drew away sixscore of the best Irish, as if (forsooth) he had pick't them out for his Life-guard.

About this very time many messengers came severall wayes to *Bothwell* from the King at *Oxford*. Amongst whom one was *Andrew Sandiland*, a Scotch-man, but bred in *England* and entred into holy Orders there, a very upright man, faithfull to the King and much respected by *Montrose*, who continued constantly with him unto the end of the War. Another was Sir *Robert Spotswood*, once the most deserving President of the highest Court in *Scotland*, and now his Majesties Secretary for that Kingdome; who passed from *Oxford* through *Wales* into *Anglesey*, and thence getting a passage into *Loghaber*, came into *Athole*, and was conducted by the men of *Athole* unto *Montrose*. Almost all the Agents that came brought this Instruction amongst the rest, *That it was his Majesties pleasure, that he should joyne unto himselfe the Earls of* Roxborough *and* Tregnaire, *and confide in their advice and endeavours; of whose fidelity and industry no question was to be made.* Moreover *that hee should make haste towards the* Tweed, *where he should meet a party of Horse which the King would instantly dispatch out of* England *to be commanded by him, with whom he might safely give battell to* David Lesly, *if (as was suspected) he marched that way with the Covenanters Horse.* All

this the reſpective bearers unanimouſly delivered, and his moſt excellent Majeſty being over-credulous ſignified by his Expreſſes. And *Montroſe* being now over-born with the Kings abſolute Commands, takes up his reſolution to march to the ſide of *Tweed*. But the day before he went, the ſouldiers being drawn up to a Rendezvouz, (before that *Mac-donell* and the Highlanders were gone) Sir *Robert Spotſwood* making an humble obeyſance, under the Kings Standard, delivered his Majeſties Commiſſion under the Great Seale unto *Montroſe*, which he againe gave unto *Archibald Primroſe* Clerk of the Supreme Councell to be read aloud. That being ended in a ſhort but ſtately Oration, he commended the Valour and Loyalty of the Souldiers, and the great affection he bore them. And for *Mac-donell*, he not only extoll'd his gallantry in the head of the Army, but by vertue of that authority that he had received from the King gave him the honour of Knighthood. For not only *Montroſe* but all the Kings friends were confident of the integrity of the man; whoſe good opinion he deceiv'd, not only to the undoing of the Kings cauſe, but the utter ruine of himſelf and his friend.

Montroſe following his intended journey, came the ſecond night to *Calder* Caſtle; at which time the Earle of *Aboine* (whether the Lord Governour would or no) carried away with him not only his own men but all the reſt of the Northerne Forces, whom he had inveighled to deſert the ſervice. Nor would he be perſwaded either by reaſon or the intreaty of his

his friends (who heartily deteſted that ſhamefull act) to ſtay but ſo much as one week, and then he might depart not only with the Generalls licenſe, but with honour, and the good eſteeme of honeſt men. Seeing it would be no better, *Montroſe* paſſing by *Edinburgh*, led his ſmall Army through *Lothianſhire*, and in *Strathgale* joyned with *Douglaſſe* and the other Commanders, whoſe Forces being much diminiſhed, were daily mouldring more and more. In that coaſt *Trequaire* himſelf came unto him, more chearfull and merry then he uſed to be; who pretended himſelf to be a moſt faithfull ſervant not only to his Majeſty but alſo to *Montroſe*, and the next day ſent him his Son the Lord *Linton* with a gallant party of Horſe, as if they were to be under his command, that by ſo likely a pledge he might make *Montroſe* more ſecure, and ſo more eaſily ruine him. For this was not the firſt time that *Trequaire* plaid the Covenanters Scout-Maſter: that ungratefulleſt piece of mankind intending to betray unto them *Montroſe*, and in him the King himſelf.

Now when he was not above twelve miles from the Lords *Hume* and *Roxborough*, and they ſent not ſo much as a Meſſenger to him, nor offered him the ſmalleſt courteſie, *Montroſe* being much troubled at it, reſolved to march into their Territories, and to bring them in either by faire means or foule. But they prevented him by a ſingular device; They ſent unto *David Leſley* whom they well knew by that time was come to *Berwicke* with all the Scotch Horſe,

and many Engliſh Voluntiers (for they were privy to all their counſells) and entreated him to ſend a party and carry them away in the condition of priſoners; which he did the day before *Montroſe* came thither. For by this means that crafty old fox *Roxborough* (who had *Hume* under his girdle) conceiv'd that they might both ingratiate themſelves with the Covenanters, as freely committing themſelves into their protection, and yet keep in the Kings favour whiles they made as if they fell into *Leſley's* hands fore againſt their wills. And this being *Leſley's* firſt noble exploit, he paſſed over *Tweed* and marched into the Eaſtſide of *Lothian*. *Montroſe* aſſoone as he perceived the King and himſelf betray'd by theſe men, and ſaw no hopes of that party of Horſe which was come from the King, and that the too powerfull enemy would block up his paſſage into the North and Highlands, reſolved to march with thoſe few men he had into *Niddiſdale* and *Annandale*, and the Countrey of *Ayre*, that he might there raiſe what Horſe he could. For although he had no certaine intelligence concerning the ſtrength of the enemy, yet he conjectured that it conſiſted eſpecially in Horſe.

CHAP. XVI.

Montroſe ariſing from *Kelſow* marched to *Jedburgh*, and ſo to *Selkirk*; where he quartered his Horſe in a Village, and his Foot in a wood cloſe by. For he was reſolved to make ſure of all advantages

tages of ground, leſt he ſhould be forced to fight with an enemy of whoſe ſtrength he knew nothing upon uneven termes. Then he commands the Captains of Horſe to ſet out good ſtore of faithfull and active Scouts, and to place Horſe guards in convenient places on every ſide, and look well to their watch. All which he in perſon (as he uſed to doe) could not ſee done at preſent, becauſe that night he was diſpatching letters to the King, and to ſend away a truſty meſſenger that he had light upon, before breake of day: therefore he was earneſt with them to have the more care, leſt the enemy who were very ſtrong in Horſe ſhould ſurpriſe them unawares. And the Commanders promiſing all care and diligence, he was ſo taken up with writing of Letters that he ſlept not all that night. And ſending ever and anon to the Captains of Guards (men that were skilfull Souldiers, and ſo known to be in forraigne Countries) ſuch uncertaine noiſes as were brought unto him of the enemies approach, they being deceiv'd either by the negligence of their Scouts or their own misfortune, very confidently ſent him back word there was no enemy in thoſe parts, nor in the Country thereabouts. At the breake of day ſome of the beſt Horſe, and moſt acquainted with the Country were ſent out againe to Scout; they alſo brought word they had been ten miles about, and diligently examined all by-wayes, and raſhly wiſht damnation to themſelves if they could find an enemy in armes within ten miles. But afterward it appeared when it was too

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late, that the enemy with all their Forces were then scarce foure miles from *Selkirk*, and had lien then all that night in their arms.

Lesle that day that *Montrose* departed from *Jedburgh*, mustered his men upon *Gladesmore* a plain in *Lothianshire*; where holding a Counsell of War with the chief of the Covenanters, the result was that he should march to *Edinburgh*, and so to the *Forth*, that he might hinder *Montrose*'s retreat into the North, and force him to fight whether he would or no before he joyned with his Highlanders. But *Lesley* contrary to that resolution, gives order on a sudden to to his whole Forces to wheele to the left hand, and to march away apace; every one wondering that knew not the mistery of the businesse, what should be the meaning of that change of his resolution, and his intention in that sudden expedition, for they marched streight to *Strathgale*. But the matter was, (as they afterward gathered from the enemies themselves) he had received letters by which he had perfect notice that *Montrose* being attended only with five hundred Foot, and those Irish, and a very weak party of new-rais'd Horse, might very easily be surprised on the borders of *Tweed*, if *Lesley* would make use of that opportunity was offered him to doe his businesse. Therefore *Lesley* upon this intelligence made haste thither, and (as I said) lodg'd within foure miles of *Selkirk*. That *Trequaire* sent those letters unto *Lesly*, although it was the generall report, I cannot certainly affirme; but it cannot

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be denied that that ſame night he ſent his Commands to his ſon the Lord *Linton* that he ſhould immediately withdraw himſelf from the Royall party, which with much jollity he did. This was like themſelves, being the ungratefulleſt of all men, deſerting their King of whom none had better deſerved, and ſtaining their poſterity. And truly that morning being very miſty gave no ſmall advantage to the treachery of the enemy; whom at laſt *Montroſe*'s frighted Scouts diſcover'd to march towards him in a full body at ſuch time as they were not above half a mile off.

Montroſe mounting the firſt Horſe he could light on, gallops into the field appointed for the Rendezvouz that morning; where he finds a great deale of noiſe, but no order. The Cavalry being little acquainted with their duty, and lying already diſpoſt in their quarters, where they dream't more of baiting their horſes then maintaining their lives and honours, upon the firſt alarme which they received from the enemies Trumpet, ran diſorderly up and downe they knew not whither, but never came in the fight. Yet there were a few, and thoſe were for the moſt part Noblemen or Knights, who made all ſpeed thither, and gallantly undertooke to make good the right wing: and they were not above ſixſcore in all. Nor did the Foot who (were about five hundred) make a good appearance, for many of them looking about their private buſineſſes among the Carriages, by that unſeaſonable care of ſaving, loſt themſelves and all they had. And, which ſpoiled the matter

which

which was bad enough before, moſt of the Commanders were abſent and never came in the field. Beſides, the enemy coming on ſo ſpeedily left them no time for deliberation. The enemy therefore who were ſix thouſand (whereof moſt were Horſe out of *England*) furiouſly charging *Montroſe*'s right wing were twice gallantly received and repulſed with no ſmall loſſe, Nor could they make that noble Troop give any ground, or break through it, untill at laſt laying along thoſe few foot that withſtood them, they broke in upon the left flank where there was no horſe. By this two thouſand Horſe whom the enemy had ſent over to the other ſide of the river were gotten on the Rear of thoſe noble Gentlemen, who, leſt being hemb'd in on every ſide, and gall'd with the enemies ſhot at diſtance, they ſhould fall for nothing and unreveng'd, withdrew themſelves every one the beſt way hee could. But the Foot who could have little ſecurity by flight, fighting a good while ſtoutly and reſolutely, at laſt upon quarter ask't and given for their lives, threw downe their armes and yeelded themſelves priſoners. Every one of whom being naked and unarm'd, without any regard to quarter given, *Leſley* cauſed to be moſt unhumanely butcher'd. The ſtaine of which perfidious cruelty (by which he hath ſo filthily blurr'd his honour, if any he got in forraigne ſervice) he ſhall never be able to wipe away. As for thoſe that eſcaped out of the battell the enemy purſued them no further, being buſie in plundering the Carriages, where they made a lamentable ſlaughter

of

of Women, Pedees, and Cook-boyes: no pity was ſhown to ſex nor age, they went to the pot altogether. The number of the ſlain is not eaſie to be given, almoſt no Horſe, and very few Foote (beſides thoſe that yeelded themſelves and had quarter) fell in that battell: which may appeare by this, that they were no more then five hundred in all, and before the next day two hundred and fifty of them came ſafe to *Montroſe*, all of them with their ſwords by their ſides, ſo that there could not be as many more miſſing: and very few were taken priſoners, and not untill their horſes being tired, and themſelves ignorant of the way, they became a prey to the country people. Whom they, forgetting all the benefits and protection they had but newly received from *Montroſe*, to doe the Covenanters a favour, delivered up unto their cruell enemies, to be made by them acceptable ſacrifices to *Baal-Berith*, the god of the Covenant.

For all that, the Rebell conquerours miſſed of the Kings Standards. The one of them (which was carried before the Foot) was preſerved by an Iriſh ſouldier, a ſtout man, and of a preſent ſpirit when others were almoſt beſide themſelves; who when he ſaw that the enemy had got the day, ſtript it off the ſtaffe and wrapped it about his body: and being otherwiſe naked, made his way with his drawn ſword through the thickeſt of the enemy, and brought it to *Montroſe* at night. Whom he received into his Life guard, and gave it him to carry in token of his valour and loyalty.

loyalty. And the other of them *William His* brother to the Earle of *Kinoule*, a hopefull young Gentleman (who ſucceeded his uncle by the mothers ſide, *Douglaſſe* Son to the Earle of *Morton*, who having receiv'd many and grievous wounds at the battell of *Alford*, was rendered unable for that burden) ſtript from off the ſtaffe too, and carried it away with him. And conveighing himſelf into the borders of *England*, skulked there a while till the coaſt was a little clearer about *Tweed*, and then through by-wayes and night-journies for the moſt part, (being accompanied and conducted by his faithfull friend *Robert Toures*, a ſtout man and a good ſouldier, who had been a Captain in *France* a good while agoe) returned in the North, and preſented that ſame Royall Standard unto the Generall.

And now at laſt *Montroſe* when he ſaw his men totally routed and put to flight (which he never ſaw before) thought of nothing more for a good ſpace then to die honourably, and not unrevenged; therefore rallying about thirty Horſe whom he had gathered up in that confuſion, he reſolved by fair and honourable death to prevent his falling alive into the enemies hands. And ſeeing he was not able to break through the enemies Troops (who ſtood thick round about him) he gall'd them on the Front, and Rear, and Flanks, and of ſuch as were ſo hardy as to adventure out of their ranks, many he ſlew, others he beat back. But when all that he could doe would not doe his buſineſſe, as God would have it, this conſide-

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ration poſſeſſed his reſolute and noble ſpirit; That *the loſſe of that day was but ſmall and eaſily regained, becauſe but an inconſiderable part of his Forces were there. That the Highlanders were the very Nerves and ſinewes of the Kingdome, and all the North was ſound and untouch't. That many of the prime Nobility and men of power, many Knights too and Chiefs of their Septs had entered into an aſſociation with him; who if he ſhould miſcarry would be ſuddenly ruined or corrupted, and by that means the Kings party in* Scotland *utterly ſubdued. Therefore he thought himſelf bound never to deſpaire of a good cauſe, and the rather leſt the King his Maſter ſhould apprehend the loſſe of him to be greater then the loſſe of the battell.* And while theſe thoughts were in his head, by good hap came in the Marqueſſe *Douglaſſe* and Sir *Iohn Dalyell*, with ſome other friends (not many but faithfull and gallant men) who with tears in their eyes (out of the abundance of their affection) beſeech, intreat, implore him *for the honour of his former atchievements, for his friends ſakes, for his Anceſtors, for his ſweet wife and childrens ſakes, nay for his Kings, his Countries; and the Churches peace and ſafeties ſake, that he would looke to the preſervation of his perſon; conſidering that all their hopes depended on him alone under God, and that their lives were ſo bound up with his, that they muſt all live or die together.* At laſt *Montroſe* overcome with their intreaties, charging through the enemy (who were by this time more taken up with ranſacking the Car-

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riages then following the chaſe) made his eſcape: of thoſe that were ſo hardy as to purſue him, ſome he ſlew, others (among whom was one *Bruce* a Captaine of Horſe, and two Cornets with their Standards) he carried away priſoners. Whom he entertained courteouſly, and after a few dayes diſmiſt them upon their *Parole*, that they ſhould exchange as many Officers of his of the like quality, which *Parole* they did not over-punctually performe.

Montroſs was gotten ſcarce three miles from *Selkirk* when he having overtaken a great number of his own men that went that way, he made a pretty conſiderable party ſo that being now ſecure from being fallen upon by the Country people, he march't away by leiſure. And as he went by the Earle of *Trequaires* Caſtle (by whoſe diſhoneſty he did not yet know that he had been betray'd) he ſent one before him to call forth him and his ſon that he might ſpeake with them, but his ſervants bring word that they were both from home. Notwithſtanding there are Gentlemen of credit that teſtifie, that they were both within; nor did that gallant Courtier only bid the Rebells joy of their victory, but was not aſhamed to tell abroad (not without profuſe and ill becoming laughter) that *Montroſe* and the Kings forces in *Scotland* were at laſt totally routed; his owne daughter the Counteſſe of *Queensborough*, as far as modeſtly ſhe might, blaming him for it. *Montroſe* after he had made a halt a while neare a Towne called *Peblis*, untill the ſouldiers had refreſh't themſelves

and

and wer fit to march, many flocking to them from every ſide, at Sun-ſet they all ſtoutly entered the Towne; and by breake of day next morning (by the conduct of Sir *Iohn Dalyel* eſpecially) paſſed over *Clud* at a ford. Where the Earls of *Crawford* and *Airley* having eſcaped another way met with him, making nothing of the loſſe of the battell aſſoone as they ſaw him out of danger. Nor was he leſſe joyfull at the ſafety of his friends, then that he had ſav'd and pick't up by the way almoſt two hundred Horſe. But although he was already ſecure enough from the purſuit of the enemy, nevertheleſſe he reſolved to make what haſte he could into *Athole*; that taking his reſt there, he might draw what forces he could raiſe of the Highlanders, and other friends into the North. Therefore paſſing firſt over the *Forth*, and then the *Ern*, having marched through the Sheriſdome of *Perth* by the foot of the Mountains, he came thither. As he was on his way, he had ſent before him *Douglaſſe* and *Airley* with a party of Horſe into *Angus*, and the Lord *Areskin* into *Marre*, that they might ſpeedily raiſe their friends and dependents in thoſe parts; and had alſo ſent Sir *Iohn Dalyell* unto the Lord *Carneey* (with whom he had lately contracted affinity) with Commiſſions to that purpoſe. Moreover he ſent Letters to *Mac-donell*, to require him according to his promiſe to returne with the Highlanders by the day appointed. But above all he ſollicited *Aboine* both by Letters and ſpeciall meſſengers, that he would bring back his friends and clients, who were willing

enough of themſelves, and wanted no other encouragement then his authority and example.

CHAP. XVII.

IT was towards the latter end of Harveſt, nor was the corn reap't in that cold Country, nor their houſes and cottages, which the enemy had burnt, repaired againſt the approaching winter (which is for the moſt part very ſharp thereabouts.) which made the *Athole*-men to abate ſomething of their wonted forwardneſſe. Yet *Montroſe* prevailed ſo far with them, that they furniſhed him with foure hundred good Foot, to wait upon him into the North, where there was leſſe danger; and faithfully promiſed him upon his returne, when he was to march South-ward, he ſhould command the whole power of the Country.

Meane time frequent expreſſes came from *Aboine* that he would wait upon him immediately with his Forces; and *Mac-donell* promiſed no leſſe for himſelf and ſome other Highlanders. *Areskin* ſignified alſo unto him that his men were in a readineſſe, and waited for nothing but either *Aboines* company (who was not far off) or *Montroſe*'s commands. About this time there were very hot but uncertaine reports of a ſtrong party of Horſe that were ſent him from the King, whom many conceived not to be far from the South-borders. But other newes they had which was too certaine, to wit, that there was a moſt cruell butchery of what priſoners the Rebells had

without

without any distinction of sex or age: some falling into the hands of the Country people, were basely murthered by them, others who escap't them (and found some pity in them that had so little) being gathered together, were by order from the Rebell Lords throwne head-long from off a high bridge, and the men together with their wives and sucking children drown'd in the River beneath; and if any chanced to swim towards the side, they were beaten off with pikes and staves, and thrust down again into the water. The Noble men and Knights were kept up in nasty prisons to be exposed to the scorne of the vulgar, and certainly doom'd at last to lose their heads: *Montrose* was never so much troubled as at this sad news.

Therefore to the end he might some way relieve his distressed friends, being impatient of all delay, with wonderfull speed he climbs over *Gransbaine*, and passing through the plains of *Marre* and *Strathdone*, maketh unto the Lord of *Aboine*, that he might encourage him by his presence to make more hast into the South. For his designe was, assoon as he had joyned his forces with *Areskins* and *Airleys*, and sent for *Mac-donell* and other Highlanders, and taken up the *Athole*-men by the way, to march in a great body straight over the *Forth*, and so both to meet the Kings Horse, and to fright the enemy, upon their apprehension of an imminent danger to themselves, from putting the prisoners to death. For he conceived they durst not be so bold as to execute

their malice upon men of Nobility and Eminency, as long as they had an enemy in the Field, and the victory was uncertaine. And truly, they being doubtfull and ſolicitous what might be the ſucceſſe of ſo great warlike preparations as they knew were in providing, did deferre the execution of the priſoners. *Montroſe* upon his journey found the Lord *Areskin* very ſick, but his clients (whoſe fidelity and valour he had had ſundry experiences of, even in the abſence of their Lord) all in a readineſſe if *Aboine* did but doe his part; for they depended much upon his example and authority. And now the Marqueſſe of *Huntley*, after he had plaid leaſt in ſight for a yeare and ſome months, (it is hard to ſay, whether awaken'd with the news of ſo many victories obtain'd by *Montroſe*, and the reducing of the Kingdome, or by the deceitfull influence of ſome bad ſtaire) was returned home. An unfortunate man and unadviſed, who howſoever he would ſeeme moſt affectionate unto the Kings Cauſe (and perhaps was ſo.) yet he endeavoured by a cloſe and diſhonourable envy, rather to extenuate *Montroſes* glory then to out-vie it. Which ſeeing it was not for his credit openly to profeſſe even before his own men (who were ſufficient witneſſes of *Montroſe*'s admirable vertues) leſt by that he ſhould diſcover ſome ſymptomes of a heart alienated from the King; yet he gave out, that for the time to come he would take upon himſelf the conduct of that War againſt the Rebells; therefore he commanded his Tenants, and adviſed his friends and neighbours

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ſcarce without threats, to fight under no command but his own. And when they replyed, *What ſhall we then anſwer to the Commands of the Marqueſſe of* Montroſe *whom the King hath declared Generall Governour of the Kingdom, and Generall of the Army?* He made anſwer, *That he himſelf would not be wanting to the Kings ſervice; but however it concerned much both his and their honour, that the King and all men ſhould know what aſſiſtance they had given him, which could not otherwiſe be done then by ſerving in a body by themſelves.* Moreover he fell to magnifie his own power, and to undervalue *Montroſe*'s; to extoll unto the skies the noble Acts of his Anceſtors, (men indeed worthy of all honour,) to tell them, *That the* Gordons *power had been formidable to their neighbours for many Ages by gone, and was ſo yet; That it was moſt unjuſt that the atchievements gotten with their blood and proweſſe, ſhould be accounted upon another mans* (meaning Montroſe's) *ſcore: but for the future he would take a courſe, that neither the King ſhould be defrauded of the ſervice of the* Gordons, *nor the* Gordons *of their deſerved honour, favour, and reward.*

All theſe things the ſimpler ſort tooke to be ſpoken upon all the grounds of equity and honour in the world; but as many as were underſtanding men, and knew better the diſpoſition of the perſon, ſaw through thoſe expreſſions a mind too rancorous and altogether indiſpos'd towards *Montroſe*, and that his aime was to fetch off as many as he could from him,

not only to the utter ruine of the King and Kingdom, but even to his own deſtruction: which (God knows) the ſad event made too manifeſt. Nor were there wanting amongſt them deſperate men and of good fore-ſight, who condemned this counſell of his as unwiſe, unſeaſonable, and pernicious even to himſelfe. For they conſidered with themſelves that *he never had any deſigne that did not miſcarry either by bad play, or bad luck. That buſineſſes were better carried by* Montroſe, *and it was ill to make a faction upon the poore pretence of his carrying away the honour of it. For if* Huntley *joyned his Forces, and communicated his counſels unto* Montroſe, *he ſhould not be only able to defend himſelf, but ſubdue his enemies, and gaine unto himſelf the everlaſting honour of being one of the Kings Champions; but if he ſhould make a breach in that manner, it would prove not only diſhonourable but deſtructive to him. That* Montroſe (*it could not be denyed*) *had got many and eminent victories with the aſſiſtance of the* Huntleys, *but they had done nothing of note without him.* Therefore they earneſtly deſired him, *conſtantly to adhere unto the Kings Lieutenant, which as it would be both acceptable and advantageous to the King, ſo it would be well taken with good men, and honourable to himſelf.* Nor did ſome of them feare to profeſſe openly, that they would yeeld their duty and ſervice to *Montroſe*, if *Huntley* ſhould ſtand out in his humour; and they were as good as their words. But he refuſing the advice of his friends reſolved what ever came on't to run counter

to

to *Montroſe*; nor did *Montroſe* ever propoſe any thing though never ſo juſt, or honourable, or advantageous, which he would not croſſe or reject. And if at any time *Montroſe* condeſcended to his opinion (which he did often and of purpoſe) he would preſently change his mind; ſeeming to comply with him ſometimes before his face, but alwayes averſe unto him behind his back, and indeed ſcarce well agreeing with his own ſelfe.

For all this *Aboine* being at that time ſolicited by many expreſſes from *Montroſe*, and the importunity of his own friends (that he might be ſome way as good as his word) met him with a conſiderable party at *Druminore*, a Caſtle of the Lord *Forbeſes*. He brought with him fifteene hundred Foote and three hundred Horſe, all chearfull and ready to undergoe any hazard under the command of *Montroſe*. And truly aſſoon as ever they met, *Aboine* freely proteſted he would carry thoſe men that he had whitherſoever the Lord Governour ſhould lead him; but there were many more behind (which for his ſcantneſſe of time he had not got together) which his brother *Lewis* would bring him. *Montroſe* extolling highly his fidelity and pains, turned back again almoſt the ſame way he came; that taking up the Lord *Areskins*, and the *Marre* Forces by the way, and climbing over *Grainsbaine*, he might fall down into *Athole* and *Angus*, not doubting within a fortnight to be able to paſſe over the *Forth* with a great Army. The firſt dayes journey *Aboine* and

his men marched with a good will, but the next night his brother *Lewis* (whom *Montroſe* had placed under the command of the Earle of *Crawford*) conveighed himſelf homewards with a ſtrong party of Horſe, making as if he meant to encounter ſome Troops of the enemy, and carried along with him as many ſouldiers as he could get upon pretence of a guard. *Crawford* returning brought word that *Lewis* was gone home, but would be back againe next day, for ſo he had made him beleeve though he intended nothing leſſe then to come back. a Youth liable to cenſure for more feats then that. But when upon the third day they came to *Alford*, it was obſerved that *Aboines* men were ſlow to ſtand to their colours, that they loytered in their march, that their ranks were thin & diſorder'd, and that they ran away by whole companies almoſt every night: and at laſt their Commander *Aboine* himſelf was not aſhamed to deſire to be excuſed, and to have leave to depart. When all men wondred, and deſired to know what might be the reaſon of that ſudden alteration of his reſolution, he pleaded *his fathers Commands, which he was obliged in no caſe to diſobey; and that his father had not ſent him ſuch directions without juſt occaſion for the enemies Forces lay in lower* Marre, *and would be preſently upon their backs, if they were deprived of the protection of their own men: and that it was unexcuſable folly for him to carry his men another way when his owne Country was in ſo much danger.* Montroſe reply'd, *That it was moſt certaine that only a few Troops of Horſe kept with-*

in

in Aberdene, *that they had no Foot at all, and thoſe few Horſe nor durſt nor could doe the Country any harme; and there was no doubt but upon the firſt alarme of his approach, their Commanders would ſend for thoſe alſo to ſecure the Low-lands. Beſides, that it would be much more to the Marqueſſe of* Huntleys *advantage, if the ſeat of Warre were removed into the enemies Country then be kept up in his owne: and upon that ſcore there was more need to make haſte into the South, that they might ſave the North from the burden of the Armies.* He added moreover, *That he daily expected aids out of* England, *which could by no means joyne with them except they met them on the South-ſide of the* Forth. And at laſt with much reſentment he repreſented unto him, *the condition of the priſoners (who were many of them* Huntley's *own kindred, allyes, or friends who would all be unhumanely murthered except they timely prevented it.* To all this when *Aboine* had no thing to anſwer, he deſired his father might be acquainted with the whole matter, and 'twas granted. Such were made choiſe of to treat with *Huntley* as were conceived to be higheſt in his favour, to wit, *Donald* Lord *Reſe* in whoſe Country he had ſojourned, and *Alexander Irwin* the younger of *Drumme*, who had but the other day married *Huntleys* daughter: and both of them were alſo much obliged to *Montroſe* for their newly recovered liberties. *Reſe* being aſhamed of receiving the repulſe had not the confidence to returne; and *Irwin* (a Noble young Gentleman, and

a ſtout, who ſtuck to *Montroſe* to the laſt) brought no anſwer but his father-in-laws ambiguous Letters, of which no hold could be taken. Being deſired to deliver what he conceived his father-in-laws reſolution was; he profeſſed ingenuouſly he knew not what to make of him, he could get no certaine anſwer, but doubted he was obſtinate in his fond conceit. *Aboine*, firſt declaring how ſore againſt his will it was to part, *Montroſe*, urged how neceſſary it was for him to pleaſe his dear father, who was fickly too: and therefore more earneſtly deſired the Lord Governour to diſpence with him for a few dayes till he could pacifie his father; and made an abſolute promiſe, that within a fortnight he would follow him with much ſtronger forces. And when he had often and freely engaged his honour to doe as he ſaid, he extorted with much adoe a Furlogh from *Montroſe* ſore againſt his ſtomach, to be abſent for the time aforeſaid.

Aboine being returned home, *Montroſe* marched over the plaines of *Marre* and *Scharſchioch* and came down into *Athole*: and thence (having a little increaſed his Army) into the Shenifdome of *Perth*, where receiving an expreſſe out of the North he is put into new hopes, *Aboine* having ſent him word he would be with him with his men before the day appointed. At the ſame time came unto him by ſeveraſl wayes Captain *Thomas Ogleby* of *Pourie* the younger and Captain *Robert Nesbit*, both of them ſent unto him from his Majeſty with Commands that if he could poſſibly, he ſhould make all ſpeed towards

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the Borders to meet the Lord *George Digby* ſon to the Earle of *Briſtoll*, who was ſent unto him with a party of Horſe, The ſame bearers *Montroſe* diſpatcheth to *Huntley* and *Aboine*, to communicate unto them thoſe Inſtructions from the King, hoping by that means, that being quickned with his Majeſties authority, and the approach of aid, they would make more haſte with their forces in the vain expectation of whom he had trifled away too much time in *Strath-Erne*.

About this time the Lord *Napier* of *Marchiſton* departed this life in *Athole*; a man of a moſt innocent life and happy parts; a truly noble Gentleman, and Chief of an acient family; one who equalled his father and grandfather *Napiers* (Philoſophers and Mathematicians famous through all the world) in other things, but far exceeded them in his dexterity in civill buſineſſe: a man as faithfull unto, as highly eſteemed by King *James* and King *Charles*: ſometime he was Lord Treaſurer, and was deſervedly advanced into the rank of the higher Nobility; and ſince theſe times had expreſſed ſo much loyalty and love to the King that he was a large partaker of the rewards which Rebells beſtow upon vertue, often impriſonment, ſequeſtration, and plunder. This man *Montroſe* when he was a boy look'd upon as a more tender father, when he was a youth as a moſt ſage admonitor, when he was a man as a moſt faithfull friend; and now that he died was no otherwiſe affected with his death then as if it had been his fathers.

Whoſe

Whoſe moſt elaborate diſcourſes *Of the Right of Kings*, and *Of the Originall of the turmoiles in Great Britaine*, I heartily wiſh may ſometime come to light.

CHAP. XVIII.

Montroſe when he had waited for *Aboine* with his forces out of the North now three weeks, either on his march or in *Strath-Erne*, and perceived that the Rebels began to grow more outrageous towards the priſoners, being impatient of further delay croſſeth over the *Forth*, and came into *Leven*: and he encamped upon the land of Sir *John Buchanan* the Ringleader of the Covenanters in thoſe parts, expecting that by that meanes, lying ſo near *Glaſcow*, he might fright the Rebells (who then kept a Convention of Eſtates there) from the murther of the priſoners. To which end facing the City every day with his Horſe, he waſted the enemies Country without any reſiſtance: although at that time for the guard of the Eſtates and City they had three thouſand Horſe in their quarters, and he not full three hundred, and twelve hundred Foot. Notwithſtanding before his coming down into *Leven*, the Covenanters aſſoone as they underſtood that *Huntley* and *Montroſe* agreed not; and that *Aboine* and his men had deſerted him in upper *Marre*, as a prologue to the enſuing Tragedy, had beheaded three ſtout and gallant Gentlemen.

The firſt was Sir *William Rollock*, one of whom we have had often occaſion to make honourale mention;

tion; a valiant and expert man, deare unto *Montroſe* from a child, and faithfull unto him to his laſt breath, The chiefe of his crimes was that he would not pollute his hands with a moſt abominable murder. For being ſent from *Montroſe* with an expreſſe to the King after the battell of *Aberdene*, he was taken priſoner by the enemy, and was condemned unto death, which he had not eſcaped, except for feare of death he had harkened unto *Argyle*, (who moſt unworthily ſet a price upon *Montroſes* head, and promiſed great rewards, honours, and preferments to whomſoever ſhould bring it in) and had taken upon himſelfe to commit that treaſon which he abhorred with all his ſoule. By which ſhift having his life and liberty given him, he returned ſtraight to *Montroſe*, and diſcovered all unto him, beſeeching him to be more carefull of himſelf, for not he only (who heartily deteſted ſo high a villany) but many more, had been offered great matters, moſt of whom would uſe their beſt endeavours to diſpatch him.

The next was *Alexander Ogleby*, of whom we alſo ſpake before, eldeſt Son to Sir *Iohn Ogleby* of *Innercharit*, deſcended of an ancient family, and much renowned in the Scottiſh Chronicles. He was but yet a youth (ſcarce twenty,) but valiant above his age, and of a preſent and daring ſpirit. Nor can I hear or ſo much as conjecture what they had to lay to his charge, but that new & unheard of Treaſon, to wit, his bounded duty and loyalty to his King. But there was no help for't but *Argyle* muſt needs ſacrifice

that

that hopefull youth, if it had been for nothing but his names ſake, for he bare an implacable ſewed to the *Oglebyes*. The third was Sir *Philip Nesbit*, of an ancient family alſo, and Chief of it next his father; who had done honourable ſervice in the Kings Army in *England*, and had the command of a Regiment there. Nor can I diſcover any reaſon they had to put him to death neither, (beſides that which is uſed when they have nothing elſe to ſay, that mad charge of the new high Treaſon, except it was that their guilty conſciences ſuggeſted unto them, that that courageous and vigilant man might take occaſion ſometime hereafter to be even with them for the horrid injuries they had done his father and his family. However theſe men ſuffer'd a noble death with patience and conſtancy, as became honeſt men and good Chriſtians. And unto theſe there are two brave Iriſh Gentlemen that deſerve to be joyned, Collonel *O-Chaen* and Collonel *Laghlin*, odious unto the Rebels only for this impardonable crime, that they had had many experiments of their courage and gallantry. Theſe Iriſh Gentlemen were murthered indeed at *Edinburgh*, but many more were doom'd to the like execution at *Glaſcow*, had not *Montroſe*'s unexpected approach within a few miles of the City had ſo much influence that it repriev'd them till another time. The Lord Governour was very much perplexed with the news of theſe mens death, and it was a queſtion whether he was more vex't at the cruelty of the Rebells, or the negligence if not treachery of his friends. For beſides

Huntley,

Huntley, whoſe Forces he had ſo long in vaine expected to come with his ſon *Aboine*, *Mac-donell* alſo himſelf (of whom he entertained an exceeding good opinion) being often ſent unto, and invited alſo by the nearneſſe of the place, although the time appointed by himſelf was already paſt and gone, made no appearance of his approach. Six weeks had now paſſed ſince *Aboine* had engaged himſelfe for the Northerne Forces, and the winter (then which our age never ſaw ſharper) was already deeply entred. Beſides the aids that the King had ſent under the Command of the Lord *Digby* were defeated: all which might eaſily have been ſalv'd, and the Kingdome reduced againe, if thoſe great Profeſſors of loyalty had not plaid faſt and looſe in that good Cauſe. Therefore at laſt on the 20. of *November*, *Montroſe* departing from *Levin*, and paſſing over the Mountains of *Taich*, now covered with deep ſnow, through woods and loghes whoſe names I doe not at this time well remember, croſſing alſo through *Strath-Erne* and over the *Tay*, returned into *Athole*. There he met Captain *Ogleby* and Captain *Nesbit*, whom he had formerly ſent with the Kings inſtructions unto *Huntley*. And they bring word the man was obobſtinate and inflexible, who would beleeve nothing that they ſaid; and when they unfolded unto him the Kings Commands, anſwered ſcornfully, *That he underſtood all the Kings buſineſſe better then they or the Governour himſelf; and neither he nor any of his children ſhould have any thing to doe with him.* Moreover

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he ſharply and threatningly reproved his friends and clients, who had willingly aſſiſted *Montroſe*; and dealt worſe with them then with Rebels. Nevertheleſſe the Lord Governour thought beſt to take no notice of any of theſe things, but bear with them; and whiles he treats with the *Athole* men for the ſetling of the *Militia* of that Country, he ſends again unto *Huntley* by Sir *Iohn Dalyel*, as a more fit mediator of friendſhip. Who was *to informe him of the danger the King and Kingdome was in, and ſo of the preſent miſery that hung over his and all faithfull Subjects heads; and to make it appear unto him that it was no ones but his and his ſons fault, both that they had not brought in the ſupplies into* Scotland *which the King had ſent, and that the priſoners, who were gallant and faithfull men, had been ſo cruelly butchered; and that yet there were many more remaining that had neer relations to* Huntley *himſelf, and ſome alſo of the prime Nobility, whom the Rebels would cut off after the ſame faſhion unleſſe they were now at laſt relieved.* And laſtly *to pray and beſeech him that at leaſt hee would grant the Kings Governour the favour of a friendly conference, promiſing he would give him abundant ſatisfaction.*

Huntly although he anſwered *Dalyel* in all things according to his wonted peeviſhneſſe, yet he was moſt of all averſe to a Conferenee; as fearing (ſeeing hee ſhould have nothing to anſwer to his arguments and reaſons) the preſence, the confidence, and the wiſdome of ſo excellent a man. But *Montroſe*, aſſoon as things

things were ſetled in *Athole*, that he might leave no thing unattempted that might poſſibly bring him to better thoughts; reſolved, diſſembling all injuries, and obliging him by all good offices, to ſurpriſe him, and be friends with him whether he would or no; and to treat with him concerning all things that concern'd his Majeſties ſervice. Therefore in the moneth of *December* he forced his way very hardly through rivers and brooks, that were frozen indeed, but not ſo hard as to bear mens waight, over the tops of hills and craggy rocks, in a deep ſnow: and paſſing through *Angus*, and over *Gransbaine*, drew his Forces into the North: and almoſt before he was diſcover'd, marched with a few men into *Strathbogy*, where *Huntley* then liv'd. But he being ſtruck with his unexpected approach, upon the firſt newes he heard of him, leſt he ſhould be forced to a Conference againſt his will, immediately fled to *Bogie*, a Caſtle of his ſituate upon the mouth of the *Spey*; as if he intended to ferry over the river, and to wage warre againſt the Rebells in *Murray*.

And now it comes into my minde briefly to enquire what might be the reaſon why *Huntley* bore ſuch a ſpleen againſt *Montroſe*, who had never given him any diſtaſte, but had obliged him with courteſies many times undeſerved. Nor could I ever hear, nor ſo much as gueſſe at any other cauſe but a weak and impotent (emulation I cannot call it, but) envy of his ſurpaſſing worth and honour. For I ſhould be loath to ſay that his minde was ever alienated from

the King, but onely averſe unto *Montroſe*; with the unjuſt hatred of whom he was ſo poſſeſt, that he precipitated himſelf into many unexcuſable miſtakes; inſomuch as he deſired rather all things were loſt then that *Montroſe* ſhould have the honour of ſaving them. And now being already puffed up with an unbeſeeming conceit of himſelf, he was the more exceedingly enraged againſt him upon the remembrance of thoſe injuries and diſgraces he had heretofore thrown upon him; and that was the chief reaſon (as I take it) that he ſo often avoyded the ſight of him. For, beſides what we have occaſionally delivered, both the father and the ſons had put neither few nor ſmall affronts upon the Kings Vicegerent; ſome few of which it will not be out of our way to relate.

The great guns which we told you *Montroſe* had hid in the ground the laſt year, they digging them up without his knowledge, carried away in a kinde of triumph, and diſpoſed of them in their own Caſtles, as if they had been ſpoiles taken from the enemy, and would not reſtore them upon demand. But thoſe *Montroſe* had got in the fights at Saint *Johns-towne* and at *Aberdene*; in the former of which there was never a man preſent of that Family, and in the other *Lewis Gordon* and his men fought on the enemies ſide. Beſides they ſo converted unto their own uſe the Gunpowder, and Arms, and other neceſſaries of War, which were gained from the enemy, and only depoſited in their Caſtles as in ſafe and convenient Storehouſes, that they would never make any reſtitution of

the least part of them when they were desired. Moreover *Aboine* upon his returne home after the victory of *Kelsythe* set at liberty the Earle of *Keith* Lord Marshall of *Scotland*, the Lord Viscount *Arbuthnot*, and other men of quality of the enemies side who were within his custody, without acquainting the Governour of the Kingdome; and his brother-in-law young *Drumme* (who by chance was present) earnestly declaring his dislike of it. Upon what termes he did it, it is uncertain, but this is evident, that (besides the affront done to the Lord Governour, and the losse of *Dunotter* Castle, which was of great strength and concernment in that War, and other Military advantages they got by it) the Rebells would never have had the boldnesse to fall so cruelly upon the Prisoners, if he had but kept them in safe custody. Yet more by his own private authority, he exacted Tributes, and Customes, and Taxes, (which the Governour himself had never done) upon pretence indeed of maintaining the War, but in truth to far other uses, and to the grievous prejudice of the Kings Cause. Last of all (which is most to be lamented) either at the intreaty of the enemy, or for small sums of money, they had enlarged the prisoners that had been taken in the former battells in the North, and committed to custody in their Castles. Nor would they permit them to *Montroses* disposall, though being prisoners of Warre he had reserved them for that only purpose, by exchanging them to save the lives of gallant and deserving men. *Huntley* being pricked in his conscience

about all these things, was alwayes as afraid of *Montroses* presence as of a Pest-house.

But *Montrose* for all that, passing by injuries, and laying aside all other matters, bestowed his whole endeavours in the promoting of the Kings service. And to that end he was resolved to intrude himself into his company though never so unwelcome, to insinuate into his friendship upon any conditions, to yeeld unto him in all things, and to deny nothing, so that hee might qualifie *Huntley*'s imbitter'd spirit. Therefore leaving his Forces in their quarters, he posted early in the morning with a few Horse unto *Bogie*, and by his undream't of approach prevented *Huntley* of any opportunity of flying or hiding himself. Assoon as they met, *Montrose* forgetting all that was past, invited him in smooth and gentle language to associate with him in the War for the safety of the King and Kingdome: and gave him so full satisfaction in all things, that as being at last overcome hee seem'd to give him his hand. And promised that not only all his men, but he himself would come in person in the head of them, and be with him with all possible speed. Afterward they layd their heads together concerning the manner of managing the War, and agreed that *Huntley* wafting over the *Spey*, should make his way on the right hand by the sea coast of *Murrey*, and *Montrose* was to goe round about on the left hand through *Strath-Spey*, which was at that time of the year, a very tedious and difficult march; and so the designe was to besiege *Innernes*, a Garrison of the enemies

enemies, on both ſides: and in the mean time to draw the Earl of *Seaford* either by fair means or fouſe to their ſide. That Garriſon how ever it might appeare to be otherwiſe ſtrong and well fortified, yet was very ill provided for victuall and other requiſites, which in that ſharp Winter and tempeſtuous Sea could hardly be had. And ſo now they ſeem'd to be agreed in all things, ſo that *Aboine* and his brother *Lewis* wiſh't damnation to themſelves if they did not continue conſtant in their fidelity and ſervice to *Montroſe* to their utmoſt breath. And the reſt of the *Gordons*, the Marqueſſes friends, were ſurpriſed with incredible joy, and made as much of their Lord and Chief, as if he had been returned from the dead.

CHAP. XIX.

Montroſe ſuppoſing *Huntley's* ſpirit at laſt pacified, and ſeriouſly inclined to joyne with him in the proſecution of the Warre, marched with his Forces through *Strath-Spey* towards *Innerneſſe*. And the more to amuſe the enemy on every ſide, he ſent his coſen *Patrick Graham* (of whoſe worth I have had often occaſion to ſpeak) and *John Drummond* of *Ball* the younger (a gentleman of approved truſt and valour, who had often done excellent ſervice) with authority and Commiſſions unto the *Athole*-men, that if any ſhould offer to ſtirre in thoſe parts, they ſhould neglect no opportunity to ſuppreſſe them. The *Athole*-men being encouraged by their authority and example, ſhewed themſelves very ready and chear-

full: And they wanted not long an occasion to shew it, for the remainder of the *Argylian* party (either by reason of a generall scarcity of all things in their own Country, or being driven out of their Country for fear of *Mackdonell*, who was very strong, and threatned their ruine) fell upon the *Mac-gregories* and *Macnabies* who sided with *Montrose*. And afterward joyning unto themselves the *Stuarts* which inhabite *Balquiddir*, and the *Menises*, and other Highlanders who still followed *Argyles* fortune, were reported to make up some fifteen hundred men; and were ready to invade *Athole* unlesse timely opposed. And truly they had already fired an Iland in *Loch-Torchet* after they had taken it by force and pillaged it, and had besieged *Ample* Castle which lyeth on the side of the river of that name. Which afsoon as they had intelligence of, the *Athole*-men, being only seven hundred in all, under the Command of the aforesaid *Graham* and *Drummond*, thought best to oppose them before they brake in into their Country. They upon the alarme of the advance of the *Athole*-men raised the siege of *Ample* and retreated toward *Taich*. The *Athole*-men pursued them hotly, and finde them in battell-arry not farre from *Kalandar* a Castle of *Taich*, For they had possessed a ford, and manned the bank on the other side (which was fortified with a steep hill) with a number of Musquetiers. Which when the *Athole*-men saw, and perceived that their Forces were not so strong as was reported (for they had not above twelve hundred men) although they themselves

themſelves were ſcarce ſeven hundred ſtrong, yet beeing hearned by the gallantry and encouragement of their Commanders, they were reſolved not to ſtay to receive the enemies charge, but to charge them. Therefore they place a hundred good ſouldiers over againſt the enemy, as it were to make good the Ford on the other ſide, and the reſt marched away unto another Ford near the Caſtle, that they might get over the river there. The *Argylians* when they perceived the *Athole*-men ſo reſolute, retreat ſtraight towards *Sterling*. Then firſt of all thoſe *Athole*-men that were left below at the Ford, poſſeſſe themſelves of the bank which the enemy had quit, after that they fall upon the Rear of the retreaters, cut off ſome, ſcatter others, drive others forward; and the reſt of the *Athole*-men following hard after, put them all to flight. Fourſcore of them were ſlain, the reſt eſcaped by flight: who fared the better becauſe that ſame morning the *Athole*-men had had a foule and tedious march of ten miles long, and had no Horſe at all to help themſelves. So they having come off with credit returned home.

At that time the Rebells held their Convention of Eſtates at Saint *Andrews*, which they polluted with the Innocent, and I feare crying bloud of men, never ſufficiently to be commended. They had amongſt their priſoners ſome very eminent men, as appeared by the hatred the Rebells bare them, (for they ſcarce ſought the bloud of any but the beſt of men, but for others of whom they were not ſo much affraid, they ſatisfied

themſelves only with their Sequeſtration and Plunder,) amongſt whom were the Lord *Ogleby*, Sir *William Spotſwood*, *William Murray* a noble young Gentleman, and *Andrew Guthery* a ſtout Gentleman and an active, whom they determined to put to death in that City, to appeaſe the Ghoſts of the men of that Province with their bloud, of whom it is reported above five thouſand had been ſlaine in ſeverall battels. Now, becauſe they intended not to proceed againſt them by Law, but according to their own luſts, they have recourſe to their old ſhifts, and make Religion draw the curtaine over their cruelty. To which purpoſe they ſet up their Prophets *Kant* and *Blaire*, and others that were poſſeſſed with the ſame ſpirit, who roar'd out their Pulpits bloudy Oracles before the people; *That God required the bloud of thoſe men, nor could the ſins of the Nation be otherwiſe expiated, or the revenge of heaven diverted.* And by this art eſpecially they provoked the hearts of the people (otherwiſe inclined to pity) to thinke upon them as accurſed things, and own'd and devoted to deſtruction; perſwading them that they ought to have no protection of humane Laws, nor any Advocate to plead for them whom God himſelfe indited and accus'd. Nor did thoſe excellent interpreters and deciders of Gods ſecret will, make any ſcruple to ſentence the ſoules, and bodies, and all of ſo great Delinquents unto hell and damnation. And having by this means blinded the people; it was eaſie for them who were their accuſers and judges both, to condemne the

the innocent men who were deſtitute of all patronage and protection.

But *Ogleby*, who was not onely the moſt eminent of them for Nobility and power, but alſo was a *Hamilton* by his mothers ſide, and couſen-german to *Lindſey*, pretending himſelfe ſick, with much adoe got ſo much favour as to have his mother, wife, and ſiſters ſuffered to viſite him in priſon. Which when he had obtain'd whilſt his keepers in reverence to the honourable Ladies, withdrew out of his chamber, he immediately puts on his ſiſters gowne which ſhe had put off, and was dreſſed in all her attire. She alſo put on his cap in which he uſed to lie ſick in bed, and lay down inſtead of her brother. At laſt many ſalutations and ſome tears paſſing on both ſides, at eight of the clock in the night, in the habite and likeneſſe of his ſiſter he deceived his keepers, who lighted him out with candles and torches. And immediately departing the City, he took horſe (which he had laid for him) with two of his followers, and before morning was got out of danger. But when the next day his obſervant keepers had found out their miſtake, *Argyle* was ſo unable to containe his wrath and revenge, that he would needs have the noble Ladies (and the more noble for this their compaſſion and adventure) brought in queſtion for it. But he could not effect it, for by reaſon of the equity of their cauſe, they found much ſtronger friends then he could, of the *Hamiltons* and *Lindſey*; by whoſe connivence it is conceived by many that all this Comedy was acted; but in

a thing that is uncertaine I ſhall determine nothing.

This cleanly conveyance of *Ogleby* out of their hands vext the Rebells exceedingly, and made them almoſt wilde, whence it happened that they made a quick diſpatch of the reſt. And the firſt that ſuffered was Collonel *Nathaniell Gordon*, a man of excellent endowments both of body and mind. Who being near unto his death, bitterly lamented with many tears that the carriage of his youth had been much otherwiſe then it ought to have been. And when being ready to die, they offered him an Inſtrument to ſigne, wherein he was to teſtifie his repentance, he ſubſcribed it without any more adoe; and withall call'd God, and his Angels, and the men there preſent to witneſſe, that if any thing was contained in that paper which was contrary to the King, his Crown or authority, he utterly diſavowed it. Then being abſolved from the ſentence of Excommunication under which he lay for adultery long ſince committed, to the great griefe of the beholders he laid down his neck upon the block. A man ſubject indeed to that fault, but famous for his valour and ſouldierſhip both in forraigne Countries and at home.

The next that was brought upon the Scaffold yet reeking with the bloud of Collonel *Gordon*, was a man worthy of everlaſting memory, Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, one rais'd by the favour of King *James* and King *Charles* unto great honours as his ſingular vertues did merit. King *James* made him a Knight, and a privy Counſellor; King *Charles* advanced him to be

Lord

Lord Preſident of the Seſſion, and now but of late Principall Secretary of *Scotland*. This excellent man (although his very enemies had nothing to lay to his charge through all his life) they found guilty of high Treaſon; which is yet the more to be lamented, becauſe he never bore armes againſt them; for his eminency lay in the way of peace, not knowing what belong'd to drawing of a ſword. This was therefore the onely charge that they laid againſt him; That by the Kings command he brought his Letters Patents unto *Montroſe*, whereby he was made Vice-roy of the Kingdome, and generall of the Army. Nevertheleſſe he proved at large that he had done nothing in that, but according to the cuſtome of their Anceſtors, and the Laws of the Land. And truly he ſeemed in his moſt elegant Defence to have given ſatisfaction to all men except his judges, (whom the Rebells had pick't out from amongſt his moſt malicious enemies that ſought his death,) ſo that queſtionleſſe they would never have pronounc'd that dolefull ſentence, if they had but the leaſt tincture of juſtice or honeſty. But to ſpeak the truth, a more powerfull envy then his Innocency was able to ſtruggle with, undid the good man; For the Earle of *Lanerick* having been heretofore Principall Secretary of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, by his revolt unto the Rebells, forced the moſt gracious and bountifull King to the whole family of the *Hamiltons*, to take that Office from ſo unthankfull a man and beſtow it on another: nor was there any one found more worthy then *Spotſwood* to be

advanced

advanced to ſo high an honour. And hence happened that great weight of envy and revenge to be thrown upon him, which ſeeing he was not able to beare out, he was forced to fall under.

And now *Spotſwood* being about to die, abating nothing of his wonted conſtancy and gravity, according to the cuſtome of the country made a Speech unto the people. But that Sacrilegious thief *Blair*, who ſtood by him upon the Scaffold againſt his will, fearing the eloquence and undauntedneſſe of ſo gallant a man, leſt the myſteries of Rebellion ſhould be diſcovered (by one of his gravity and authority) unto the people, (who uſe moſt attentively to hear, and tenaciouſly to remember the words of dying men) procured the Provoſt of the City (who had been once a ſervant to *Spotſwoods* father) to ſtop his mouth. Which inſolent, and more then ordinary diſcourteſie, he took no notice of; but letting his Speech unto the people alone, he wholly beſtowed himſelf in devotions and prayers to Almighty God. Being interrupted againe, and that very importunately, by that buſie and troubleſome fellow *Blair*, and asked, *Whether he would not have him and the people to pray for the ſalvation of his ſoule?* He made anſwer, *That he deſired the Prayers of the people, but for his impious Prayers, which were abominable unto God, he deſir'd not to trouble him.* And added moreover, *That of all the plagues with which the offended Majeſty of God had ſcourged that Nation, this was much the greateſt (greater then the Sword, or Fire, or Peſtilence) that for the ſins of*

the

tive people, God hath ſent a lying ſpirit into the mouth of the Prophets. With which free and undeniable ſaying, *Blaire* finding himſelfe galled, grew ſo extremely in paſſion, that he could not hold from ſcurrilous and contumelious language againſt his father who had been long dead, and againſt himſelfe who was now a dying; approving himſelf a fine Preacher of Chriſtian patience and Longanimity the while. But all theſe things *Spotſwood* having his mind fixed upon higher matters, paſſed by with ſilence and unmoved. At laſt being undaunted, and ſhewing no alteration neither in his voice nor countenance, when he laid down his neck to the fatall ſtroke, theſe were his laſt words, *Mercifull Jeſu, gather my ſoule unto thy Saints and Martyrs who have run before me in this race.* And certainly ſeeing Martyrdome may be undergone not only for the Confeſſion of our Faith, but for any vertue by which holy men make their faith manifeſt; there is no doubt but he hath received that Crowne.

And this was the end (a dolefull end indeed in regard of us, but a joyfull and honourable one in him;) of a man admirable for his knowledge of things Divine and Humane; for his skill in the tongues, *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Syriack*, *Arabick*, beſides the Weſterne Languages; for his knowledge in Hiſtory, Law, and Politiques; the Honour and Ornament of his Country and our Age for the integrity of his life, for his Fidelity, for his Juſtice, for his Conſtancy; a man of an even temper and ever agreeing with himſelf;

ſelf; whoſe Youth had no need to be aſhamed of his Child-hood, nor his riper years of his Youth; a ſevere obſerver of the old-faſhion'd piety with all his ſoule, and yet one that was no vain and ſuperſtitious Profeſſour of it before others; a man eaſie to be made a friend, and very hard to be made an enemy; and who being now dead, was exceedingly lamented even by many Covenanters. His breathleſſe body *Hugh Scriniger* once his fathers ſervant, tooke care to bring forth, as the times would permit, with a private funerall. Nor was he long able to beare ſo great a ſorrow and loſſe, for after a few dayes eſpying that bloudy Scaffold not yet removed out of the place, immediately he fell into a ſwoon, and being carried home by his ſervants and neighbours, died at his very door.

Laſtly, they give unto *Spotſwood* another companion in death, *Andrew Gutherey* ſon unto the moſt deſerving Biſhop of *Murray*, and hated the more by the Rebells for that. A youth, as well valiant in battell, as conſtant in ſuffering and contemning death. He alſo was threatned and rail'd at by the ſame *Blaire*, but anſwered, That *no greater honour could have bin done him, then to be put to an honeſt death in the behalfe of ſo good a King, and ſo juſt a Cauſe; which thoſe that were preſent ſhould ſee he embraced without fear, and perhaps another generation would not report without praiſe. For his ſins he humbly begged mercy and forgiveneſſe at the hands of his moſt gracious Lord God; but for that which he ſtood there condemned, he was not much troubled.* After this manner

ner died with constancy and courage a man who if Almighty God had so thought fit had been worthy of a longer life.

And that now they might put the last Scene to a Tragedy of which most part was acted, after two days breathing they brought forth *William Murray*, brother to the Earle of *Tarlibardin*, a young Gentleman, to the same place. And truly every man much admired, that his brother being in great favour and esteeme amongst the Covenanters, had not interceded for the life and safety of his own onely brother. Some imputed it to his sloth, others to his covetousnesse, as gaping after his brothers estate, others to his stupid and superstitious zeale to the Cause; but even all, the very Covenanters themselves, condemned his silence in such a case as dishonourable, and mis-becoming a Noble spirit. But the Youth himself, being not above nineteene years old, purchased unto himselfe everlasting renown with posterity for so honest and honourable an end. Amongst those few things which he spake to the people, those that heard him told me these words, which he spake with a higher voyce then the rest; *Account* (O my Countrymen) *that a new and high addition of honour is this day atcheived to the house of* Tullibardin *and the whole Nation of the* Murrays, *that a young man descended of that ancient stock, willingly and chearfully delivered up his innocent soule* (*as unto men*) *in the very flower of his youth, for his King, the Father of his Country, and the most munificent Patron of our Family. Nor let my most*

honoured

honoured mother, my deare ſiſters, my kindred, or any of my friends be ſorry for the ſhortneſſe of my life, which is abundantly recompenced with the honourableneſſe of my death. Pray for my ſoule, and God be with you.

CHAP. XX.

THe death of his friends troubled *Montroſe* exceedingly, as it had reaſon; but yet it was not able to breake or ſhake his firme and ſetled reſolution. Nor did his noble and more then ordinarily elevated ſpirit ever give greater evidences of it ſelf then now. For there were many who being enraged with the unworthy murder of their friends egg'd him on being already ſufficiently diſcontented, to a preſent revenge. And whiles they too much favoured their griefe (although it was juſt) and ſeem'd to deſire nothing but what was fit, to wit, to render them like for like, they wearied out the Generall with their many, and troubleſome, and unſeaſonable complaints. For they muſt needs be angry, that their companions, their friends, their kindred, noble and gallant Gentlemen, well deſerving of their King, their Country, and the Generall himſelf, ſhould be murther'd contrary to their faith promiſed them, the cuſtome of Warre, the Law of the Land, of Nations, and of Nature, and all unreveng'd: and on the other ſide, ſuch Rebells as had been taken by him to be kept rather as in their friends houſes then in priſons, to rejoyce, to triumph, to laugh at their ſorrow: And therefore they humbly deſired ſuch priſoners might be tryed as Malefactors; nor would

would the enemy be otherwiſe frighted from their unheard of cruelty, nor the minds of his owne men otherwiſe ſatisfied and raiſed up. Whom he entertained with a courteous Speech, commended them for the love they bare their friends, and told them, *That the bloud of thoſe honourable and innocent Subjects ought to be reveng'd indeed, by ſuch a way as became honeſt and valiant men; not by baſeneſſe and miſchief as the Rebells doe, but by true valour, in a ſouldier-like way. It concerned them ſo to tame, as not to imitate the wickedneſſe of their enemies. Nor, if they conſidered matters well, was it conſcience, that thoſe that were priſoners with them, and ſo could not be acceſſary unto the murther of their friends, ſhould ſuffer for thoſe ſins of which they were innocent. The faith that they had paſſed unto them was a moſt ſacred thing, and to be kept inviolate even by enemies. Why ſhould they make themſelves guilty of that which they ſo much abhorred in their enemies? The time would come when they muſt give a ſevere account of it unto the moſt righteous God, and to his Vice-gerent the King. In the meane time* (ſaith he) *let them ſet a price upon our heads, let them hire Aſſaſſines, let them find in their inſtruments amongſt us to murther us, let them make promiſes and breake them, yet they ſhall never effect that, we ſhall contend with them in an emulation which ſhall be worſe, or any otherwiſe then upon honourable and vertuous termes.*

Now *Huntley*, who intended nothing leſſe then what he promiſed *Montroſe* before his face, having paſſed over the *Spey*, and entred into *Murray*, tri-

fled away his time, and wasted his strength without either honour or profit, a good way off *Innernesse*. For giving his mind too much to prey and spoile, after he had wasted the Country, he heard a flying report that the inhabitants had hid their gold and silver, and the best of their stuffe in certaine turrets and obscure Castles. Which whiles he assaults in vaine, and could neither by commands nor intreaties be taken off from his resolution, the enemy sending in provision on that side which he had undertaken to block up, relieved *Innernes* with all things that they wanted. Which if he had hindered, as he undertook unto *Montrose*, the Garrison would have been shortly forced to yeeld. And *Montrose* having now received intelligence that Major Generall *Middleton* was come with six hundred Horse and eight hundred Foot as far as *Aberdene*, and was like to lay waste *Huntleys* and the *Gordons* Country, sent Collonel *William Stuart* unto *Huntley*, to entreat him to returne againe unto the siege of *Innernes* according to his engagement: Or if he did not approve so well of that, because the enemy was advanced so near his Territories, he should perswade him to joyne his Forces with his, and to march immediately towards the enemy, whom he doubted not with an easie hazard to overthrow. To which he answered scornfully, that he would look to his own businesse himselfe, nor did he need the help and assistance of *Montrose* to drive the enemy out of his borders. At last after ten weeks spent in the siege of a small inconsiderable Castle, and the losse of all the forwardest of his men, he was forced with dishonour

nour to raiſe the ſiege, when he was never the nearer. And in contempt not ſo much of *Montroſe*, as of the Kings Majeſty, he retreated to the *Spey* without the conſent or Knowledge of the Vice-roy: giving thereby a very bad example to all men, who began to come in thick and three-fold with great eagerneſſe unto the Kings party.

Amongſt whom the chiefeſt for wealth and power, and multitudes of followers and dependants were the Earl of *Seaford* the Lord *Reſe*, & from the furtheſt Ilands Sir *James Mac-donell*, Chief of a moſt powerfull and ancient family in the Highlands; *Macklen* alſo and *Glengar* the Captain of the *Mac-Renalds*, (and many more) who were ſome of them already in *Montroſe*'s Army with their Forces, others had ſent for theirs. And by this meanes before the end of *March*, *Montroſe* might have fallen down into the Low-lands with a farre greater Army then ever the Scots produc't in the memory of man. But the unexpected revolt of ſo great a perſonage did not leſſe encourage the Rebells to perſevere in their courſe, then ſcandalize and diſcourage honeſt and loyall hearts. Whence it happened that thoſe whoſe men were already come up to the Army began to draw off, and ſteal away privately, and others to make excuſes for their delay. All which put together made *Montroſe* to caſt about another way. For he reſolved (ſeeing he could doe no good with vain, light, wavering and inconſtant men by gentleneſſe and good Offices) to reduce them to his obedience by his authority, backed with the ſtrength of armes and ſevere penalties; and

to that end to force all the Highlanders and North-country-men, to take up armes, by marching in amongst them with a confiding party of good souldiers. For he well knew that many Governours and leading men in their respective Countries, and Chiefs of Septs were of his side, unto whom this course would be very acceptable. Nor did he question but the chief and most powerfull of the *Gordons* being weary of their Lords miscarriage, would do him the best service they could if need was, though it ran counter unto *Huntleys* designe. However he was resolved to use all fair means, if that would do, before he would put them to the cost of that last and sharpest remedy.

But because *Innernesse* was the most considerable garrison of all the North, and the haven there most commodious for intertaining forraigne Forces he desired nothing more then to reduce that: therefore hee surrounded it with the Forces he had. For the enemies Army under the Command of *Middleton* was above fourscore miles off, and *Huntley* and the *Gordons* lay half way between them in a body. Therefore *Montrose* dealt again with *Hunley* to perswade him not to lose his time, but (as they had agreed) to joyne with him in the siege of *Innernesse*; or at least to hover about the *Spey*, over which the enemy was to passe, and to hinder their passage if they advanced to raise the siege; and if they chanced to get over to joyn their Forces together and fight them. To all which he answered so disdainfully, that the Viceroy thought it high time to despair of any good from him, and conceived himself engaged to look better to himself, lest at

at laſt he ſhould betray him. So that putting no confidence in *Huntley*, he ſent back three Troops of Horſe to lie at the Fords of the *Spey*, to obſerve the motion of the enemy: and if they came, to ſend him often and certain intelligence. And they, quartering themſelves in the moſt advantageous places for ſcouting, were carefull enough to obſerve his commands; untill *Lewis Gordon*, *Huntleys* ſon, who then commanded the Caſtle of *Rothes*, plaid a more ſhamefull prank then any he ever did before. Hee aſſured thoſe Captains of Horſe whom *Montroſe* had ſet to guard the Fords of the *Spey*, that the enemy lay very far off, and intended nothing leſſe then to paſſe that river & raiſe the ſiege; and therefore he perſwaded them (who took him for a moſt faithful friend) to let alone their needleſſe guards (to which they had been appointed) & to come to his Caſtle to refreſh themſelves and with many compliments invited them to a feaſt which he had provided for them: and they had no more wit then to truſt him, and go. He entertained them with a huge deal of courteſie, and beſides very dainty chear, plyed them with good ſtore of wine and ſtrong waters. And with a great deal of jollity, and ceremonious courteſie, detain'd them ſo long till *Middleton* with a great Army of Horſe and Foot had got over the *Spey*, and had gotten footing in *Murray*. Which aſſoon as he had notice of, he at length diſmiſt them, and that with theſe jeering termes; *Goe now to your Generall* Montroſe, *who will have a ſharper bout now then he had at* Selkirk. Meane time the enemy marcht ſtraight and eagerly towards *Montroſe*, and thoſe Horſe getting

paſt them with much ado, came not much before them to *Invernesse*, inſomuch as they ſeem'd to be but the Van of the enemy, and *Middletons* whole Army followed within Cannon-ſhot. But, as the providence of God would have it, *Montroſe* had notice of their approach another way, and having drawn of his Forces a little way from the Town, had got them all into a body. And when he perceiv'd the enemy to be much too ſtrong for him in Horſe, avoiding the plain, he retreated with his men beyond the *Neſſe*. The enemy falling upon his Rear and being handſomly repuls'd, kept themſelves alſo cloſe. The loſſe on both ſides was very little, and almoſt equall. *Montroſe* paſſed by *Bewly* into *Roſſe*, whither the enemy purſued him, that taking him in the champain ground which was diſadvantageous to him, they might compell him to fight whether he would or no. But beſides that the enemy was much ſtronger then he, the Country people being faithleſſe and rotten, and *Seafords* new raiſed men running away by companies from their colours, moved him with all the ſpeed he could to ſave himſelf from the enemies Horſe. Therefore paſſing by *Logh-Neſſe*, and through *Strath-Glaſſe*, and *Harrage*, he advanced unto the bank of the *Spey*.

Montroſe was reſolved to proceed againſt *Huntley* as a publick enemy, unleſſe he repented but would try all fair means firſt, to ſee whether it was poſſible to bring him into a better minde. To which end taking with him only one Troop of Horſe for his lifeguard, in all ſpeed he rid twenty miles unto him to his Caſtle at *Bogy*. And as he was on his way, he ſent

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one before to give him notice of his approach; and to tell him that he came thither alone, and without his Forces, to no other end then to k ſſe his hand, and to be advised by him concerning ſuch things as concerned the Kings ſervice and he was the more earneſt to ſpeake with him, becauſe he had newly received Letters from the King from *Oxford*, which he would let him ſee. But *Huntley* being affrighted with the firſt news of *Montroſe*'s approach was ſo averſe from the preſence of ſo gallant a man, that in a trice he leapt on horſe-back, and with one man along with him ran away any way he car'd not whither; nor vouchſafed the Kings Vice-roy the favour of a conference or entertainment. Which aſſoon as *Montroſe* underſtood, he returned back thoſe twenty miles the ſame day being the 27 of *May*; and was as carefull as he could poſſibly to conceale this frowardneſſe and unrulineſſe of *Huntleys*, leſt it ſhould be a bad preſident. But all would not do. for the *Gordons* themſelves, and others of *Huntleys* friends, being moſt of them very honeſt men, and complete Gentlemen, told all with a great deal of indignation, and deteſtation of *Huntley*; that by that means they might acquit themſelves from the aſperſion of ſo unworthy an act.

Nor can one eaſily ſay how great influence that mans example had upon other Northern men: The Earl of *Seaford*, who had been but lately, and with much adoe reconciled to the Kings ſide, was conceived to begin to falter; and ſome ſay that being ſtill unſetled, he had then underhand dealings for the making of his peace with the Covenanters, which truly I can

hardly believe. And *Alexander Mac-donell* himself, pretending I know not what, although he had had often and serious invitations, made nothing but sleeveleſſe excuſes and put-offs from day to day. Which carriage of his gave occaſion of ſtrange reports of him, as if he, although he was a bitter enemy to *Argyle*, yet had great correſpondence with and relations unto the *Hamiltons*; and therefore ſtaid at home, and looked only upon the preſervation of the *Mac-donells*, not medling with publique affaires. Which when *Montroſe* conſidered, he reſolved without further delay to make his progreſſe over all the North-country and Highlands with a conſiderable party, to lift ſouldiers, to encourage the well-diſpoſed, to reduce thoſe that were refractory, by the ſeverity of the Lawes and condigne puniſhment and to deal with them as men uſe to do with ſick children, make them take phyſick whether they will or no. And he wanted not fitting inſtruments to promote this deſigne, who had earneſtly laboured with him to take that courſe.

While theſe things paſſed at *Innerneſſe*, *Huntley*, leſt he ſhould be thought never to have done any thing by his own conduct without the aſſiſtance of *Montroſe*, beſieged and took in *Aberdene*, (which *Middleton* kept with five hundred men) but with more loſſe to *Huntley* himſelf then to the enemy. For, beſides the loſſe of many valiant ſouldiers, he gave his Highlanders leave to pillage the City. But what fault thoſe poore innocent *Aberdene*-men had made either againſt the King or *Huntley* let them judge, who know that almoſt all of them were eminent and obſerved

ſerved for their loyalty. But for the enemy whom he took in Armes, who were both many, and of very good account amongſt their own party, hee diſmiſt them freely without any conditions, and look't fawningly upon them, rather like a Petitioner then a Conquerour. Nor when he had many Collonels, Knights, and others of quality (who by chance were found in *Aberdene*) in his hands, did he ſo much as think of exchanging any one of his own friends for them, many of whom were priſoners either in *Scotland* or *England*. But this was his humour, being alwayes more ready to doe good for his enemies then his friends.

CHAP. XXI.

MOntroſe being buſie about his deſigne, on the laſt of *May* there came unto him a Herald with Commands from the King, (who by I know not what misfortune had caſt himſelf upon the Scotch Covenanters Army at *Newcaſtle*) whereby he was required forthwith to lay down his armes and disband, and to depart into *France*, and there to waite his Majeſties further pleaſure. He being aſtoniſhed with this unexpected meſſage, bitterly bewailed the ſad condition of the King, that had forced him to caſt himſelf upon the mercy of his moſt deadly enemies. And doubted not but that that command which was given him for disbanding was extorted from him by the craft, or force, or threats of the Rebells into whoſe hands he had fallen. But what ſhould he do in that caſe? If he obeyed, he muſt give over the eſtates of his friends to plunder, and their lives to death; and if he ſtood in armes againſt the Kings command, hee

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ſhould be guilty of that crime hee undertook to ſcourge in others, Rebellion. And eſpecially he was afraid leſt the Rebels ſhould put his actions upon the Kings account, and uſe him the worſe for them, ſeeing they had him in their power: of which the King had given him a fair hint in his Letter.

Therefore *Montroſe* reſolved to call together all the Noblemen, and Chiefs of Septs, and Knights, and others of quality that were of his ſide; that a matter of that conſequence which concern'd them all might be diſcuſt by generall conſent. To which end, after he had received ſo many injuries from him, he diſpatcheth Sir *John Hurrey*, and Sir *John Innes*, being men of greateſt account in his Army, and (as he conceived) moſt in *Huntleys* favour, unto him, to deſire him to be preſent at that ſo ſerious Conſultation, and deferr'd unto him the appointment of the time and place. And to tell him moreover, that *Montroſe was willing to come to his Caſtle if he thought fit.* Huntley anſwer'd, *That the King had ſent him Letters alſo to the ſame effect, which he was reſolved to obey; that the Kings commands were of that nature as not to admit of ſecond thoughts, and after them nothing was left for conſultation.* When they replyed, that *that likely was* Montroſes *opinion too, and that he was as ready as any other to give obedience to the Kings Commands, if they were not forced; however it concern'd them all to provide in time for the ſafety of them and theirs.* And *that the credit and authority of what they reſolved upon would be greater, even in the opinion of the enemies themſelves, if they made a joynt and unanimous reſolution.*

lution. He made no other answer then that *he had resolved for himselfe, and would have nothing to do with any body else.*

Montrose therefore sends his answer to the King by Letters, wherein he was very inquisitive of the condition he was in amongst the Covenanters, and whether he conceiv'd himself safe in their hands? and also whether his service could be beneficiall unto him any further? And, if he was fully determin'd to have that Army disbanded which fought for him (whiles the enemy in both Kingdomes were in a military posture, and crow'd over them more and more) what course should be taken for the security of the lives and fortunes of his most gallant and faithfull Subjects, who had spent their bloud and all that was dear unto them for his sake? For it was a lamentable case if so excellent men should be left to the mercy of them that had none, not only to be undone, but to be murthered. To this he received no open answer, besides some Articles which the messenger brought which were signed by the Rebells, with which *Montrose* was to be content. But he in great anger rejected those conditions which the enemy had made, being so unconscionable as they were; and not vouchsafing so much as to treat with the enemy, sent back the bearer to the King, professing that as he had not taken up armes but by the Kings Commission, so he would have no condition prescribed him to lay them down by any mortall man but the King himself. Therefore he humbly besought the King (if he thought it fit that he should disband his Army) that he would not think much to

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make and signe the conditions himself; to which, though they prov'd perhaps very harsh, he promised absolutely to submit, but he scorn'd the Commands of any one else whosoever they were.

The messenger returning, at last brought with him Articles signed by the Kings hand, with Injunctions now the third time, wherein he was required to disband without further delay; and the same messenger charged him in the Kings name, under pain of high Treason, to give obedience forthwith unto the Kings Command. And besides his Majesties pleasure, there was another thing which hastened him, which was, that those that had engaged with him had most of them privately and by their friends laboured to make their peace with the Rebells which was evidently knowne by good tokens of the Earle of *Seaford* and others. As for *Huntley* and *Aboine* they did not only professe themselves open enemies to *Montrose*, but also threatned to fall upon him by force of arms, if he did not immediately submit to the Kings authority. And *Antrim* being newly arrived out of *Ireland* in the Highlands without either men or arms busied himself to draw away all the Highlanders, as his kindred and allies to himselfe from *Montrose's* Army, whom in scorn he call'd the *Governour of the Low-lands* making by this means an unseasonable fraction, and a pernicious one to his friends in those parts. All which *Montrose* having well considered, he was forced according to the Kings Command to disband his Army.

And truly that was a most sad day, in which having solemnly prais'd and encourag'd his souldiers (as well as the occasion permitted) he took his leave of them. For although he bid them to be of good comfort however, and told them

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he saw some day-light of a blessed peace, and that he did as much service to the King by his present submission, as he had done before by his Martiall atchievements. Yet notwithstanding they all conceiv'd that that was the last day of the Kings authority in *Scotland*, and all of them beleeved for certaine, that those Commands from the King were wrested from him upon the apprehension of greater dangers to his person if he had not given them. And although some provision had been made by Articles in writing for their Indempnity, yet they had rather have undergone the worst that could fall, then survive idle and unserviceable spectators of the miserable condition of their dearest King. And it was no little vexation to those generous spirits, to thinke what an unworthy opinion forraign Nations and their own posterity must needs have of them, as if all the Scottish Nation had been unanimously guilty of Rebellion and desertion of so good a King. Besides, their sorrow was much augmented with the consideration that their Generall, who was most valiant, most successefull, and therefore most beloved, should be taken off so unhappily from the King, from his Country, from themselves, and all good men. So that his souldiers falling downe at his feet, entreated him with teares in their eyes, that seeing the safety of the Kings person depended so much upon it, and he must of necessity depart the Kingdome, he would be pleased to take them along with him into what part of the world soever he went. Professing their readinesse to live and fight any where under his command, and (if God would have it so) to die too. And truly many of them were resolved, though to the certaine hazard of their lives and estates, to follow him even against his will and knowledge, and to offer him that service in an unknown land that they were able to afford him no longer in their miserable Country.

By the Articles to which the King had consented according to the desires of the Covenanters it was especially provided, that *Montrose* should depart *Scotland* before the first of *September*, and that they should find him shipping, with provision and all things necessary when he went. These things

things were transacted the first of *August*, and a Port in *Angus* designed for *Montrose* whither they were to send shipping from whence he was to imbark. And *Montrose* to prevent and remove all occasions of exception or suspition, being accompanied only with his own servants and a very few friends, betook himself thither, and waited for the shipping. About this time his most implacable enemies set abroad crafty and feigned reports by their fit instruments, wherein they confidently averred, that *the States of the Kingdome* (as they call'd themselves) *would by no means suffer that so gallant a Subject should be banished the Country: For they knew not how great need they might have of a man of his worth, especially if the King who had cast himself freely upon the affections of the* Scots *could not get any right of the* English, *but should be put to seek it by force and armes; and if it came to that, no age had afforded a better Generall then* Montrose. And truly that was the earnest desire and expectation of most men, who were not able to dive into the bottome of the Rebels plots, but they had far other designs in hand, and another game to play. For what their thoughts were towards the King, the sad event made too manifest, and for *Montrose*, they laid very unconscionable and unworthy traps to catch him. For they did this, that if they could flatter him up with such vain hopes, and entice him to stay in the Kingdome beyond his time appointed, they might take hold of him upon the Articles, and cut him off with more credit.

August was almost spent and no news at all was to be had about the shipping or safe conduct: therefore *Montrose*, (although he was resolved to be gone by the day the King had limited) that he might the more fully grope the intentions of the Covenanters, gave leave to some of his friends to deale with them for further time. But when they brought him nought but uncertain and doubtfull answers, he had reason to thinke they intended nothing but to delude and intrap him. Besides (which made his suspition so much the greater) there came a ship upon the very last day allowed for his stay (to wit, on the last of *August*) into the haven of *Montrose*. The master of it was not only a stranger to him,

him, but a moſt rude and violent abettor of the Rebels; the Seamen and Souldiers men of the ſame temper, malicious dogged, and ill-condition'd the ſhip it ſelf neither victualled, nor fit to goe to Sea. So that when *Montroſe* ſhew'd himſelf ready to depart, and bad them horſe their ſailes aſſoon as they could, the Maſter of the ſhip told him that he muſt have ſome dayes allowed him to pitch and rigge his ſhip, before he durſt adventure himſelf to the wind and waves. And then making great brags of himſelfe and his ſhip, he drew forth a Commiſſion which the Covenanters had given him, wherein he was required to tranſport the paſſengers to certain places aſſigned by themſelves, and to carry no body elſe. Moreover there lay great Engliſh ſhips and men of War every day in ſight about the mouth of the river of *Eske* (which makes the haven of *Montroſe*) attending there in favour of the Rebels for their much deſired booty, that by no means he might eſcape their hands.

But *Montroſe* had ſufficient notice of theſe treacheries, and wanted not ſome friends of the Covenanters themſelves, who informed him by frequent meſſages that the Sea was ſore peſter'd with the Engliſh Navy, and he could not eſcape ſafely either into *France* or the *Low-Countries*; that the haven was upon the matter block't up, in which he was to take ſhipping, and therefore it was very perillous for him to goe to Sea; that his enemies look'd for nothing elſe, then that either by making too long ſtay in his own Country he ſhould fall into the hands of the Scottiſh Covenanters, or by going he ſhould be ſurpriſed unarm'd and unawares by the Engliſh Rebells. *Montroſe's* friends that were with him were of opinion, that it was beſt for him in ſo apparent a danger to returne into the Highlands, and draw his men together againe, conceiving that he had better truſt the fortune of War then ſo perfidious a peace. But he forbore to take that courſe, eſpecially becauſe of his moſt ardent affection to the King: For he was aſſured if the War brake forth againe it would be laid upon the King though unobſervedly, and ſo he ſhould bring his Perſon into preſent danger perhaps as much as his life was worth. Therefore

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being straightned on every side, one way with treachery plotted against his own, another against the Kings anointed head, he determined with an unalterable resolution to bear all the burden upon his owne shoulders. And therefore he withdrew himself not out of rashnesse as if he despair'd of safety at the worst, but out of sage and discreet deliberation.

For when he had smelt out the plots of the Rebels before-hand, he had sent some a good while agoe to search diligently the havens in the North, and if they chanced to find any outlandish vessell, to agree with the Master for the freight, and to appoint him to be ready to put to sea at such a day, and to transport the passengers (which should be ready with him) by the help of God into *Norway*. By good fortune there was found in the haven of *Stanlyve* a small bark of *Bergen* in *Norway*, and the Master was soone agreed with, for he was very glad of the opportunity, having hopes of getting. Th ther *Montrose* sent away Sir *John Hurrey*, *John Drummond* of *Ball*, *Henry Graham* his brother, *John Sandilands* nephew to that great Sir *Robert*, *John Lily*, a Captain of approved skill and courage, *Patrick Mulvin* such another, *George Wisheart* Doctor of Divinity, *David Guthrey* a stout young Gentleman, *Pardus Lasound* a Frenchman, once a servant to the noble Lord *Gordon*, afterwards entertained for his Masters sake by *Montrose* himselfe, one *Rudolph* a German, an honest and trusty young man; and a few servants more. And these he had pick't out to carry along with him whithersoever he went, for this reason especially, because he knew the Rebels so be so maliciously bent against most of them, that they could not be safe for never so little a while in that Country. And they on the third of *September* having a good wind put forth to Sea for *Norway*; and the same evening *Montrose* himselfe, accompanied only with one *James Wood* a worthy Preacher, by a small cock-boat got into a bark which lay at anchor without the haven of *Montrose*; and being clad in a course suit, the Lord and Patron passed for his Chaplains servant. This was in the year of our Lord 1646. and the 34. year of his age.

FINIS.